

CLINTON & IRAQ: UNDER ATTACK

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

The World's Daily Newspaper

R

Paris, Friday, December 18, 1998

No. 36,017

'Severe' Damage as Allies Again Hit Baghdad

'Absolutely the Right Thing to Do,' President Says

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Just hours before U.S. and British forces launched a second wave of air attacks on Iraq, President Bill Clinton said Thursday that the decision to attack was "absolutely the right thing to do."

Mr. Clinton received a powerful endorsement from Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain. He said that for the U.S. president to have delayed attacking because the House had been scheduled to debate his impeachment Thursday would have been a "dereliction of his duty."

The first round of cruise missile and bomber attacks, launched shortly after midnight Baghdad time, inflicted "very severe" damage, Defense Secretary William Cohen said Thursday. He said all targets were military or intelligence-related.

Iraq denounced the attack as a "crime against international law" and said dozens of civilians had been killed or wounded.

In the second wave, which began around 10 P.M. Baghdad time Thursday, U.S. and British forces targeted the

Iraqi air defense system, airfields, and military aircraft, some of them in reinforced concrete hangars.

Cruise missiles were launched again from navy ships, and air force B-52 bombers flew from Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean to launch others. F-18 fighters, based on the carrier Enterprise, released laser-guided bombs, a military official said.

Twelve British Tornados returned unharmed from a bombing sortie to their base in Kuwait, a Royal Air Force spokesman told Reuters.

The military undertaking, ordered out of frustration with Iraq's obstruction of UN arms inspectors, is the largest by U.S. forces since Mr. Clinton took office. It came a month after he had ordered, then suspended, an earlier attack following an 11th-hour vow of cooperation from Baghdad.

Mr. Clinton, bitterly accused by some Republicans of launching the attack to divert attention from impeachment proceedings, said "it would have been a disaster" if the United States had failed to act. That, he said, from the White House, would have left Iraq free to develop weapons of mass destruction unconstrained by any meaningful United

Nations arms inspection program. Mr. Clinton spoke by telephone Thursday to the leaders of Egypt, Jordan and France to seek their support, following other calls Wednesday. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said she had spoken to the heads of at least 20 countries.

Russia and China harshly criticized the use of force against Iraq. In Moscow, the State Duma, the lower house of Parliament, passed a resolution calling the air strikes "international terrorism."

In a televised news conference from Baghdad, Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Sahhaf said that American and British officials who claimed Iraq had not complied with UN resolutions were "liars."

Mr. Sahhaf said the early morning cruise missile attacks had caused "heavy casualties and collateral damage."

He said missiles had hit the security police and military intelligence headquarters buildings in Baghdad, but gave no details of damage or casualties.

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An Iraqi walking through debris left after a U.S. raid hit Tikrit, President Saddam's hometown, near Baghdad.

Impeachment Debate Set

By Peter Baker
and Juliet Eilperin
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — After a 24-hour pause while missiles rained onto Iraq, House Republicans and Democrats engaged in a furious clash Thursday over whether to proceed with impeachment proceedings while air strikes ordered by President Bill Clinton continued.

The speaker-designate, Representative Bob Livingston, Republican of Louisiana, had postponed the impeachment showdown scheduled for Thursday morning out of reluctance to send a message that might be seen as undercutting the military.

But amid deep Republican skepticism about Mr. Clinton's motives, Mr.

Livingston was unwilling to wait long and decided to bring the four articles of impeachment to the floor Friday morning for a lengthy debate and vote on Saturday.

Angry Democrats, however, used procedural maneuvers to block Mr. Livingston's plans for the debate, complaining that it would be un-American to impeach the commander in chief with troops in the field.

The two-day debate schedule outlined by Mr. Livingston requires unanimous consent to waive the rules, which Democrats refused to give. As a result, Republicans said they would go ahead with the debate on Friday morning, but under the ordinary rules that allow only a single hour of debate and do not need consent of the minority.

"This is a terribly unpopular measure and no one wants to deal with impeachment, but it is before us and we must deal with it," Mr. Livingston said on the floor, noting that impeachment proceedings went forward against President Richard Nixon during the Vietnam War. "There's no way to know when the troops will have completed their mission."

"We cannot refrain from advancing the people's business," he said.

The House minority leader, Representative Dick Gephardt, Democrat of Missouri, said he was worried about the morale of the 24,000 U.S. soldiers, pilots and sailors engaged in hostile action. "I want them to see nothing from us but

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The Reservoir of Credibility Runs Dry

Clinton's Motives in Bombing Publicly Challenged in Congress

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Suddenly, it became startlingly clear how much the long months of evasion and legalisms, how much his enemies' unceasing denunciations of him as a liar, have cost Bill Clinton and the nation.

Gripped by crisis on two fronts, in Congress and the Middle East, the president came face to face with the stinging reality that his credibility is crumbling, especially, but not exclusively, among Republicans on Capitol Hill. Some sober, experienced leaders no longer take him at his word. It is a situation he must remedy, and quickly, but it is not clear he can do so.

On a day of truly explosive drama in this politically punch-drunk capital, two of the long-running conflicts of these final years of the old millennium col-

lided Wednesday with a bang: the Western allies' struggle to contain and disarm the resilient President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Mr. Clinton's struggle to govern effectively in the face of the assaults of his political foes.

Senator Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi, the majority leader, went so far as to publicly question Mr. Clinton's motives in ordering attacks on Iraq — a violation of Washington's long-standing political code. You don't criticize the president, that code says, when U.S. forces stand in harm's way.

Norman Schwarzkopf, the retired general who commanded U.S. troops in the Gulf War in 1991, joined prominent Democrats in firing back. He said on NBC, "By golly, troops are committed, and we can't have people second-guessing the way they did in Vietnam."

Some Republicans were a bit more cautious. The incoming House speaker, Representative Bob Livingston of Louisiana, said he would leave questions of presidential motive and timing to the American people.

But he pointedly said several times that he supported "the troops," without saying he supported the president.

This was the climax, in a way, of years of deterioration in this city's political civility. The habit of refusing to give one's adversaries the benefit of the doubt, of viewing them as enemies rather than opponents, increasingly ingrained in the congressional culture, has now seized a beachhead in foreign-policy debate.

As the hours passed, on the eve of the scheduled start of the House's first impeachment debate in 130 years, one

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Mr. Clinton with Vice President Al Gore in the Oval Office on Thursday.

World Reaction: Mostly on the Cool Side

• Reaction to the attacks ranged from anger, to skepticism in France, to support shaded with regret from European allies. Page 4. • Blair defends Clinton's timing. Page 4. • In the West Bank, Clinton's honor is over. Page 5. • Inspectors believe Iraq is hiding a huge stockpile of deadly germs. Page 2. • Will strikes reach their ultimate goal? Page 2.

Life Goes On In Baghdad, With School And Nuptials

By Howard Schneider
Washington Post Service

BAGHDAD — American and British bombs rocked Iraq's 700-year-old capital on Thursday as the second wave of a joint air campaign swept across the country with the aim of finishing the work that United Nations weapons inspectors say they have been prevented from doing.

After missions earlier in the evening in the south of Iraq, Operation Desert Fox began concentrating on sights around Baghdad, a cradle of Islamic civilization after its founding and today the political heart of President Saddam Hussein's government.

Brilliant red tracer rounds from Iraqi anti-aircraft batteries lit the sky around 10 P.M., followed by a series of explosions. A few minutes later, a large explosion occurred near an area that includes several public monuments and buildings, followed by a shock wave that carried several hundred meters.

The explosions continued to around 10:30 P.M., then paused for more than an hour.

Iraqi officials were saying late Thursday night that at least one hospital had been damaged in the raid.

The explosions came after what had been a day of relative normalcy in Baghdad, despite the night bombing early Thursday on the city's outskirts.

Traffic along main city thoroughfares was lighter than usual for a weekend night, though by sundown carloads of newlyweds rode honking through the

See BAGHDAD, Page 4

Retreating From Reform, China Tries 2 Dissidents

By Michael Laris
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — China put two prominent dissidents on trial Thursday in two cities in a move to suppress a six-month-long campaign to inaugurate the country's first opposition party.

The trials of Wang Youcai and Qin Yongmin, both charged with "inciting the overthrow of state power," were intended as a blunt reminder that the

Communist Party will brook no challenges to its rule.

Mr. Wang, tried in the eastern city of Hangzhou, and Mr. Qin, tried in the central city of Wuhan, were forced to represent themselves in court because the authorities detained and intimidated their lawyers, family members said.

The trials appeared to represent a step backward for China's efforts at legal reform and raised questions about how the government views its obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Beijing signed the charter, which guarantees freedom of expression and association, in October.

Last year, criminal defendants in even the most heinous murder cases were given the right to some form of legal representation when China put a new criminal procedure law into effect. By apparently violating the law Thursday, Communist Party authorities sent a message that the new rules do not apply to dissidents.

It is unclear whether the crackdown against the China Democratic Party is

AGENDA

Students Wounded in Jakarta Clashes

Scores of students were wounded by rubber bullets in clashes Thursday with Indonesian security forces in Jakarta. The violence came just hours after President B.J. Habibie warned that unrest could lead to the "disintegration of the nation." Page 7.

Paris Strikers Block Trains to London

PARIS (Reuters) — Maintenance workers blocked passenger train traffic at the Gare du Nord in Paris on Thursday, halting high-speed trains to London and Brussels, management of the state railway company SNCF said.

Union officials said the maintenance workers walked off their jobs after learning of management plans to eliminate positions.

Web Shopping Boom

American consumers are changing their holiday shopping habits and, with just one week until Christmas, are making on-line purchases at levels that have surpassed estimates. Page 15.

The Dollar			
New York	Thursday 4 P.M.	previous close	
DM	1.6675	1.661	
Yen	118.25	118.565	
FF	5.5925	5.5852	
Pound	1.6733	1.685	
The Dow			
	Thursday close	percent change	
S&P 500	8,875.82	+ 0.97%	
Nasdaq	1,179.96	+ 1.55%	
	2,043.88	+ 1.72%	

Books	Page 9.
Crossword	Page 24.
Opinion	Pages 8-9.
Sports	Pages 24-25.
Sponsored Section	Pages 12-13.
THURSDAY	
The Internet	Page 14.
The IHT online	www.ihonline.com

Law Lords Give Pinochet A 2d Chance at Immunity

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

LONDON — In a step lifting General Augusto Pinochet's hopes of escaping extradition to Spain and returning home to Chile, the House of Lords on Thursday set aside its decision last month denying him immunity from arrest.

The Lords scheduled a new hearing a month from now, and if the former Chilean dictator succeeds in convincing a new five-judge panel of his claim to immunity, he will be free to leave. Before Thursday's decision, the 83-year-old general had faced the certainty of an extended stay in custody in England while his case proceeded through motions and appeals that could stretch on for more than a year.

The decision represented the first time in the history of the Law Lords, England's highest court, that a verdict had even been reviewed, much less rejected. A five-judge panel set up for the purpose heard arguments Tuesday and Wednesday, and Lord Browne-Wilkinson, the chief Law Lord, announced their unanimous verdict on the floor of the ornate upper chamber Thursday morning.

While he said the judges had not had time to compose their opinions and would make them public only in January, there was no doubt that they had accepted arguments from General Pinochet's lawyers that last month's three-to-two verdict was tainted by bias.

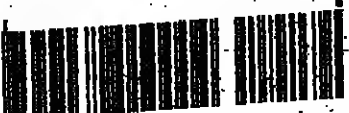
The attorneys' sole point in pressing the unprecedented appeal had been that Lord Hoffmann, the judge who cast the decisive vote, had erred in not declaring his association with Amnesty International, an active participant in the case. The group had been given rarely extended permission to make its own case alongside British prosecutors against General Pinochet during the six days of hearings.

Lord Hoffmann, it had emerged, has been a director and chairman of a principal Amnesty International charity since 1990, and his wife, Lillian, has worked in the press and publications office of the human rights group since 1977.

Clare Montgomery, General Pinochet's lead trial lawyer, told the panel of Law Lords on Tuesday, "What judges must not do once they have accepted a

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Newstand Prices			
Andorra	10.00 FF	Lebanon	11.3,000
Antilles	12.50 FF	Morocco	18 Dh
Cameroun	1.600 CFA	Qatar	10.00 QR
Egypt	2E 5.50	Réunion	12.50 FF
France	10.00 FF	Saudi Arabia	10 SR
Gabon	1.100 CFA	Senegal	1.100 CFA
Ghana	3.000 CFA	Spain	250 Ptas
Guinea	1.250 CFA	Tunisia	1.250 Dir
Jordan	1.250 JD	U.A.E.	10.00 Dh
Kuwait	700 Fils	U.S. (Eur.)	\$1.20



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THE AMERICAS

In Congress, Anger Radiating in All Directions

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — It was like throwing gasoline on a fire. The impeachment of President Bill Clinton had already turned the House into the partisan equivalent of an armed camp, but when the bombing of Iraq began, tempers exploded.

Republican House members, virtually certain they had the votes to impeach Mr. Clinton on at least one and possibly two counts of perjury, trooped to the Capitol's basement late Wednesday to hear from their leaders why they should postpone — why they would have to postpone — the impeachment debate.

An hour later the Democrats held their own meeting. Their plan was to remind the Republicans and the public during the impeachment debate scheduled Thursday that the Republicans had refused to countenance a censure proposal, when censure was the nation's preferred option.

"Our people are more than upset," said a leadership source. "This is farcical."

There were "some divisions in the conference," Representative Jim Leach, Republican of Iowa, acknowledged. Members lined up to state their views as the hours dragged by.

At the Democrats' meeting, Representative Edward Markey of Massachusetts talked about a rally at Harvard University on Tuesday night where speakers ripped impeachment for hours. "People were trying to crawl in under the door," Mr. Markey said.

Representative Mark Edward Speder, Republican of Indiana, the only conservative Republican opposed to impeachment, said at his party's meeting that he was ripped to bits in Fort Wayne for weeks.

"I went to Russia for eight days, but they even tracked me down there," he spoke of "having to change my donor base" because of the fury of some constituents.

A Judiciary Committee member, Representative William Delahunt, Democrat of Massachusetts, who had done weeks of hard time in the impeachment trenches, said: "Whatever transpires would not come as a shock to me."

"Imagine being a bit player on the stage of the theater of the absurd," he added.

'Whatever transpires would not come as a shock to me. Imagine being a bit player on the stage of the theater of the absurd. How would you feel?'

added. "How would you feel?"

Not good. Nerves began to fray in the early afternoon when news started to waft through the halls of the Capitol that the bombing of Iraq was set for 5 P.M., the same time that the House Republicans started their meeting. Rumors circulated of a deal to postpone debate.

An anguished Representative John Cooksey, Republican of Louisiana, phoned a reporter shortly after noon to suggest that the bombing "just isn't a good thing to do." Mr. Clinton and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq "are two guys who are altering their political careers by using their armed forces, and misusing them in my view," Mr. Cooksey said. "Anyone who misleads cannot lead."

Did that apply just to Mr. Saddam or did...

"I didn't say that." But the Rules Committee chairman, Representative Gerald Solomon, Republican of New York, did.

"Never underestimate a desperate president," he said in a news release a few hours later. "What option is left for getting impeachment off the front page and maybe even postponed?"

None, he soon concluded in a blistering attack on Mr. Clinton during a CNN interview: "We should not be handling the impeachment while he is bombing Iraq and that's exactly the reason he's doing it."

The White House responded almost immediately with an unvarnished broadside of its own.

The leadership of the speaker-designate, Representative Bob Livingston, Republican of Louisiana, was called into question, even before he took the gavel. He had pledged to reach out to Democrats but the minority party was steaming over his refusal to countenance a censure resolution.

"We can't believe we're at this stage without censure, and the Democrats are going to fight," Mr. Markey said. "They used to say the GOP was the Grand Old Party. I call them Get Our President."

■ Cohen for the Defense

The White House sent the most prominent Republican in the Clinton administration — William Cohen, the secretary of defense — to offer personal testimony to the integrity of the attack from the well of the House of Representatives. The New York Times reported.

For slightly more than 90 minutes, Mr. Cohen spoke to a closed gathering of lawmakers. He offered a detailed accounting of the decision to attack and asked for bipartisan support of the action.

He appeared with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry Shelton, and the director of central intelligence, George Tenet, at the invitation of the first year and were 28 percent more advanced after five years, the study found.

Heart attacks, the need for angioplasty, bypass surgery, hospitalization for heart disease and cardiac-related deaths were nearly twice as common in the American Heart Association group than in the group following the Ornish regimen.

The 66-year-old heir to the Mellon oil and banking fortune also had harsh words for the independent counsel Kenneth Starr, whose investigation led to the inquiry of Monica Lewinsky and the specter of impeachment now threatening Mr. Clinton's presidency.

"Four years and \$40 million later, we haven't gotten anything," Mr. Scaife said. "Maybe Ken Starr is a mole working for the Democrats."

Mr. Scaife controls several foundations that have given millions of dollars to organizations run by critics of Mr. Clinton. That money included \$1.7 million for a project at the conservative American Spectator magazine to dig up information about Mr. Clinton's role in the Whitewater real

estate deal. Mr. Scaife's money also helped fund a chair at Pepperdine University that was to go to Mr. Starr, but the prosecutor later turned down the job. (AP)

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"I just want the truth to come out about Whitewater," the reclusive Pittsburgh philanthropist told John F. Kennedy Jr., the editor of George magazine, in a rare interview.

"I think there's been a massive cover-up about what Bill Clinton's administration has been doing, and what he was doing when he was governor of Arkansas," said Mr. Scaife, who funds many anti-Clinton groups.

Saying Mr. Clinton "can order people done away with at his will," Mr. Scaife suggested that the president might be linked to the deaths of dozens of administration officials and associates, including the White House aide Vince Foster, whose death was determined to be a suicide by investigators, and former Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who died in a plane crash.

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Bob Livingston, the speaker-designate, discussing the bombing of Iraq.

BRIEFLY

Tycoon Denies Funding Plot

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New Hope for Reversing Heart Disease

Vegetarian Diet, Yoga and Walking Found Better Than Drug Therapy

By Sally Squires
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — People with heart disease who eat a very low-fat vegetarian diet, exercise religiously, practice stress reduction daily, meditate and avoid smoking can significantly reduce blockages in their arteries without the need for drugs, according to researchers.

Doctors have debated for more than a decade whether moderate to severe heart disease can be reversed by lifestyle changes alone. Several dozen studies have clearly shown that cholesterol-lowering drugs can significantly reduce blockages and reverse heart disease. But these medications are costly and can have side effects.

A new study involving 48 patients published Wednesday in the Journal of the American Medical Association found that an austere lifestyle regimen can significantly reduce blockages with-

out the use of drugs, allowing patients to avoid balloon angioplasty and bypass surgery.

The study "tells us that the longer you participate and the longer you adhere to this kind of program, the healthier you will be," said Peter Kaufmann of the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute.

The study compared a program designed by the cardiologist Dean Ornish with a diet recommended by the American Heart Association. All participants had moderate to severe heart disease. Twenty-eight people agreed to follow the Ornish program, while 20 patients followed the demanding but less rigid American Heart Association diet.

The Ornish program, which has been featured in a best-selling book and is now offered in 15 hospital programs as well as at Dr. Ornish's nonprofit Preventive Medicine Research Institute in Sausalito, California, requires patients to eat a vegetarian diet that contains 10

percent or fewer calories from fat and 10 milligrams or less of cholesterol per day.

By comparison, the average American diet has about 35 percent of total calories as fat. The American Heart Association diet contains about 30 percent of calories as fat and limits the amount of saturated fat to 7 percent or less of total calories.

People in the Ornish program also engage in an hour a day of yoga and meditation, a half-hour of walking, and agree to give up smoking.

Twenty of the participants on the Ornish program completed the five-year study, compared with 15 of the patients on the American Heart Association diet. Blockages improved by nearly 5 percent among those on the Ornish program after one year and showed about an 8 percent improvement after five years. In contrast, blockages among patients on the American Heart Association program became 5 percent worse dur-

ing the first year and were 28 percent more advanced after five years, the study found.

Heart attacks, the need for angioplasty, bypass surgery, hospitalization for heart disease and cardiac-related deaths were nearly twice as common in the American Heart Association group than in the group following the Ornish regimen.

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estate deal. Mr. Scaife's money also helped fund a chair at Pepperdine University that was to go to Mr. Starr, but the prosecutor later turned down the job. (AP)

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Judge Cites Police Racism in Motorist Arrests

New York Times Service

BOSTON — In a case believed to be the first of its kind, a federal judge in Boston, sentencing a black man for gun possession, reduced the sentence because his long arrest record, she said, reflected a tendency by the police to stop black motorists more often.

Local and state police forces in several states have been accused of pulling over black motorists for no apparent reason.

The judge, Nancy Gertner of U.S. District Court, said the preponderance of minor traffic offenses on the man's arrest record raised "deep concerns about racial disparity."

Away From Politics

Eight companies and 56 individuals were indicted in the theft and resale of more than \$5 million worth of cargo at Kennedy International Airport. The prosecutor said the probe started in 1996 when two employees of BAX Global were arrested for stealing four laptop computers from the company's warehouse at JFK. Investigators looked into past thefts there and at other air freight companies and discovered a fencing operation headed by a man from his New York home. (AP)

A Kentucky teenager was sentenced to life in prison for a high school shooting rampage last year that killed three people and wounded five. Michael Carneal, 15, who pleaded guilty but mentally ill in October, will be eligible for parole in 25 years. He opened fire on Dec. 1, 1997, on students taking part in a morning prayer meeting at Heath High School in West Paducah, Kentucky. (Reuters)

Screening people for lung cancer, which is not now routinely done, could save lives, researchers said. A Finnish study published in the journal Chest found that men whose lung cancer was found through chest X-ray screening were almost twice as likely to survive as men whose lung cancer was found by other means. (Reuters)

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ART BUCHWALD

Lessons Learned

NEW YORK — The bottom line of President Bill Clinton's impeachment problem is sex. We can't escape it. Even The New York Times talks about it. The airwaves are full of it, and lately it has been the subject of rancorous debate in the House of Representatives.

The reason Americans are paying any attention at all to the story is that they can understand sex, but they can't understand Iraq. They are hard put to fathom the economic recession in the Far East, but they're very much at home discussing adultery in a bar.



Buchwald

If the president has any faults, and I'm not saying he does, it is in the area of candor. He did something he shouldn't have, which is O.K., but then he lied about it. All of us do things we shouldn't, but all of us are not president of the United States.

So, as far as the Republicans are concerned, it is not

the act but the denial that requires punishment.

The problem is that the majority of the people don't want to lose their leader over an affair with an intern—at least not while the price of heating oil is the lowest it's been in a long time.

At the same time, lying about adultery is a serious crime—in the same class with hitting a Coke machine to see if any coins will spill out. We can't let the president off scot-free. He has offered to be censured and flogged 10 times by Attorney General Janet Reno at Camp David. But for the Republicans it is not enough.

Here are some other punishments that have been suggested:

• Have Dr. Kevorkian give him a physical examination.

• Attach a steel cuff to his ankle so we'll know where he is at all times.

• Make him apologize to the People's Republic of China in Mandarin.

After this dark nightmare is over, we will have to decide what we really have learned from the scandal.

Monroe Letter

Sells for \$43,000

Agence France-Presse

NEW YORK — A letter written by a 16-year-old Norma Jean Baker, who became the movie star Marilyn Monroe, was sold Tuesday at Sotheby's in New York for \$43,125.

In the five-page letter dated Feb. 16, 1943—to her guardian and friend Grace McKee Gaddard—the teenager describes her anxiety at the prospect of meeting her father for the first time. The meeting apparently never took place.

What we have learned is that if you commit an indiscreet act, gladly admit to it if there are tapes to prove it.

Don't trust people who say that stories about sex bore them. They are lying.

When a sex story breaks, you should be very careful wrapping fish in your newspaper.

Women are not always victims in a sexual situation. Sometimes they are the ones who ask you to RSVP.

The conventional wisdom is that sex is too serious to be left to Congress.

A Turkish Novelist Spurns the State's Honors

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

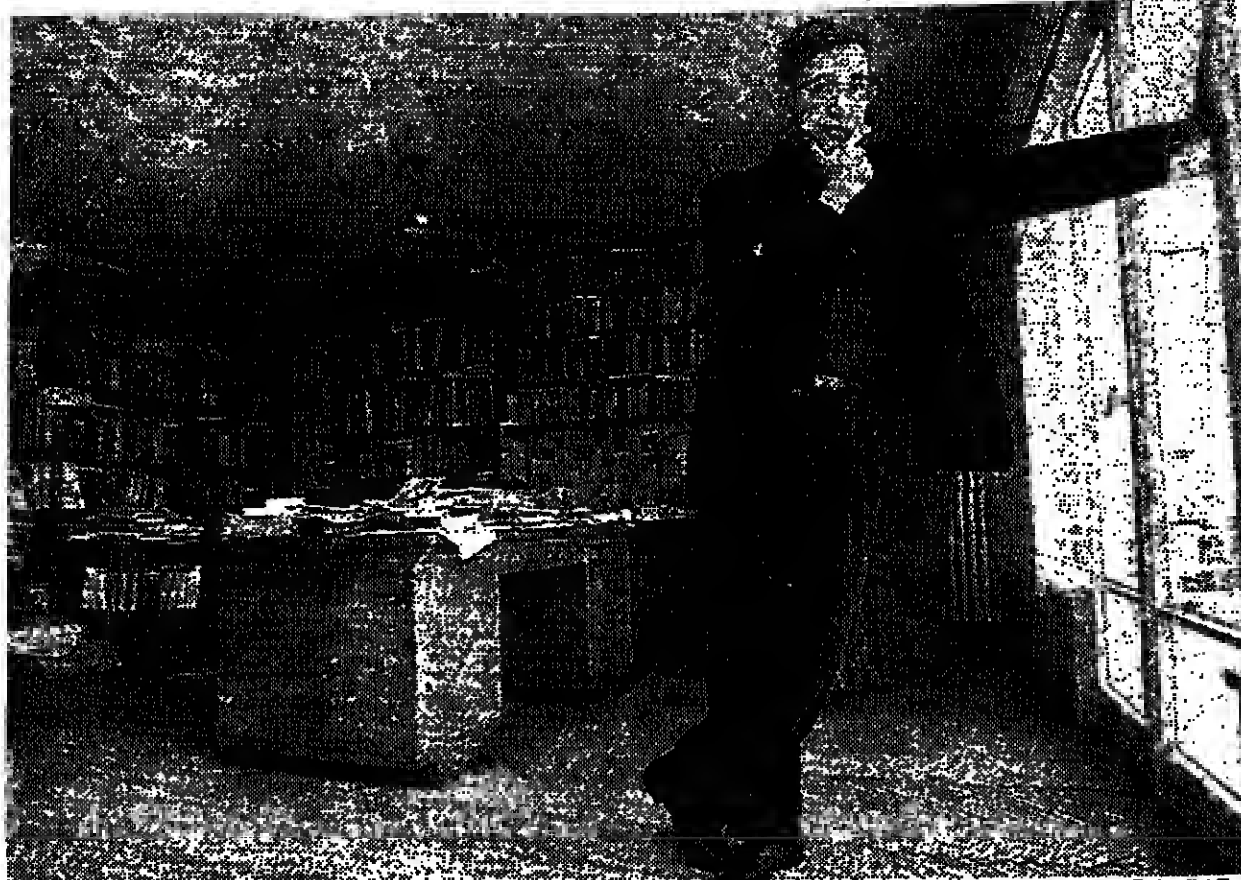
ISTANBUL — Turkey's most prominent young novelist, Orhan Pamuk, has turned down the coveted title of "state artist" awarded to him this month. He said that if he accepted it, he could not "look in the face of people I care about."

Pamuk is one of 85 writers, actors, singers and other cultural figures who were chosen for the honor by President Suleyman Demirel. Several declined, saying they disapproved of the selection process or did not want to be associated with some others on the list. But Pamuk was the only one who said he was doing so for political reasons.

"For years I have been criticizing this society for its approach to the Kurdish problem, for its failure to move toward real democracy, for its violations of human rights and banning of books," Pamuk said in an interview. "Intellectuals, pro-Kurdish writers and even fundamentalists are in jail for writing books or articles. I thought this was a good time to separate myself from this happy public, which lacks a sense of self-criticism and immerses itself in crazy nationalism."

Pamuk, 46, spoke on the eve of publication of his latest book, which is expected to be a best-seller here. The first printing of 50,000 copies, the largest ever for a Turkish novel, is being shipped to bookstores. He said he did not expect his refusal of the prize to hurt his standing here.

"I say no, and they respect that, even in the popular newspapers," he said. "In a sense, they even like it. The only thing that upsets them



Orhan Pamuk in his study overlooking the Bosphorus in Istanbul: "There is a moral issue here."

is that I talk to foreign journalists who, in their words, 'distort our reality.'"

"There is a moral issue here," he added. "This state does not have clean hands. If you accepted a prize from the White House during the Vietnam War, that would of course have political implications. This is a similar situation."

The title of state artist has been awarded sparingly in the past. Only 64 people have received it over the last quarter-century. The sudden announcement of such a large group of recipients this year may have been tied to Demirel's desire to broaden his popularity as elections approach.

In recent days, many newspapers and television stations have presented interviews with Pamuk. They concentrated on his new book, but he is regularly asked about his decision to reject Demirel's award. His frank comments, often including the names of Turks he believes are unjustly imprisoned, have brought the issues of free speech and democratic rights to a broad audience.

Many of the artists Demirel chose to honor are pop singers and others whose mass appeal exceeds their intellectual contributions. But some serious artists, including several who are strongly critical of Turkish society, were also included

and have decided to accept. Their decisions reflect the conflicts that artists in many countries face when deciding how to deal with governments of which they do not fully approve.

"I have always been at odds with the Turkish state," said one of the winners, Ali Poyrazoglu, an actor and director known for his unconventional life style and political views. "I've been banned, I've been beaten up and I've suffered at the hands of this state. Now, for the first time, the state extends a friendly hand to me. I'm certainly going to shake that hand."

Those who refuse the prize are not showing any real or radical

rebellion," said Poyrazoglu, who recently appeared in the New York production of the play "Pera Pallas." "States are the same all over the world. They are oppressive by their nature, and artists are always opposed to this. So why do people who jump to take prizes from a country like Germany say no to the Turkish one?"

Although the state artist title carries considerable prestige, it has no monetary value except to artists who are already employed by the state. They normally receive salary increases upon winning.

Pamuk, 46, is one of two Turkish novelists whose works have been widely translated and have won worldwide acclaim. The other, Yasar Kemal, an outspoken advocate of the Kurdish cause, whose works depict the exploitation of peasants at the hands of brutal landowners, was named a state artist several years ago and also refused the honor.

Turkey's military has been struggling for 14 years to crush a separatist rebellion by Kurds in the south-eastern region of the country.

In an interview in his book-lined study overlooking the Bosphorus, Pamuk said he hoped the controversy over his refusal of the prize would not overshadow the appearance of his new book, "Call Me Crimson." It tells the story of a 16th-century widow who searches for a new husband among the miniaturists and illuminators of the Ottoman court. An English translation is to be published by Knopf next year.

"The book is going to be very much talked about," Pamuk said. "And I don't want that discussion to be damaged or limited in any way by this really tasteless debate."

PEOPLE



WELCOME BACK — The Niobe Room of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence was reopened Wednesday, the latest room in the museum to be restored after a car bomb exploded outside the Uffizi in May 1993.

A FEDERAL court jury in New York City denied a claim by another composer that Lloyd Webber had stolen a musical passage for use in "The Phantom of the Opera." The jury had been asked to decide whether Lloyd Webber used a section of a 1978 song by Ray Repp, a composer of religious folk music, in the main theme of "Phantom." For Repp, the verdict was the end of a long legal battle that began after he first heard the "Phantom" theme in 1989. Saying he was struck by the theme's similarity to his ballad "Till You," Repp filed a copyright infringement lawsuit a year later. After eight years of legal machinations, Repp was granted a jury trial in January by a federal appeals court. "I have no doubt whatsoever that's my song," said Repp, who has 11 albums to his credit. Lloyd Webber testified that he had actually lifted the "Phantom Song" from one of his own compositions. "Close Any Door."

Shoshanna Lonstein says she and Jerry Seinfeld broke up because he

worked too hard and she played too much. Seinfeld "worked 24 hours a day, seven days a week," Lonstein told Details magazine. "And I wanted to run around and play." Now 23, Lonstein was only 16 when she met the comedian in 1992. She enrolled at the University of California, Los Angeles, to be near him while he was filming the "Seinfeld" TV series, but they broke up in 1997. "I'm happy I got to have the

relationship, but L.A. was a really lonely existence for me," Lonstein said.

A Mexican Army officer's diary that defies the popular American legend of Davy Crockett's death at the Alamo is being donated to the University of Texas, which tried but failed to buy the controversial papers last month. The memoir, purportedly an eyewitness account

written by Lieutenant Colonel Jose Enrique de la Pena, says Crockett was captured and executed March 6, 1836, along with others who had been defending the Alamo in their fight for independence from Mexico. Pena's account defies the traditional story, that Crockett valiantly fought Mexican troops to the end of the 13-day siege, wounding his long-nile, Betsy, like a club before he fell. The diary, which had been at the library at the University of Texas at San Antonio, was sold at an auction last month to two unidentified Texans—who turned out to be University of Texas alumni, Charles W. Tate and Thomas O. Hicks—who paid \$350,000 for it and related documents.

Arnold Schwarzenegger is in talks to reprise his role in a third installment of the "Terminator," and James Cameron, the director of "Titanic" is planning to write and produce the movie, but not direct, Daily Variety says. Cameron directed the first two "Terminator" movies.

McCartney Seeks Return of Beatle Lyrics

The Associated Press

GOSHEN, New York — Paul McCartney contends that the original handwritten lyrics to the Beatles' song "Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band" that a collector offered to sell him in August were stolen from his London home in late 1967 or early 1968.

McCartney wants the lyrics returned and filed a "show cause" order in state Supreme Court in Goshen last month demanding that one collector reveal the name of another, who now has the lyric sheet.

A photocopy of what appeared to be the lyric sheet was sent to him by Gary Zimet, who said an unidentified collector would sell it to McCartney for \$550,000. Zimet said Tuesday that he had revealed the collector's name to McCartney, but would not reveal it publicly.

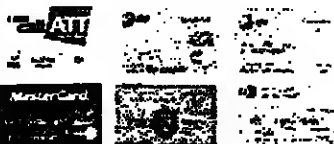


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Clinton & Iraq / Under Attack

Arabs' Muted Criticism

U.S. Raids Are Unpopular, but So Is Saddam

By Lee Hockstader
and Nora Boustany
Washington Post Service

RAMALLAH, West Bank — As far as Anis Abu Hakeem is concerned, President Bill Clinton's honeymoon with the Arab people this week lasted 48 hours.

It began Monday evening when the American leader went to Palestinian-controlled Gaza City and delivered an empathetic, impassioned speech on the plight of Palestinians. It ended Wednesday evening when Mr. Clinton sent U.S. missiles and bombs to obliterate targets in Baghdad.

On Thursday, Abu Hakeem, a 63-year-old barber who wears a tie to work every day, taped a poster of Saddam Hussein in the window of his salon in Ramallah, just north of Jerusalem.

"Clinton gave a very nice speech in Gaza," people liked it," he said. "But it seems like he had a hidden agenda, to postpone his day of judgment on his affairs with Monica." He was referring to Monica Lewinsky, the former White House intern.

He added, "We don't know what is in his heart."

The U.S. strikes, coming on the eve of the monthlong Muslim holiday of Ramadan, are broadly unpopular in the Arab world. Arab public opinion typically sees the United States as exercising a blatant double standard by insisting on Iraq's compliance with United Nations resolutions on weapons of mass destruction while overlooking Israel's defiance of UN resolutions, including the demand that it withdraw unconditionally from the West Bank.

But among many Arab governments, Mr. Saddam is scarcely more popular

than the American strikes against him, so reactions Thursday to the renewal of war in the Gulf, while generally negative, were muted in some cases.

Since the last showdown with Iraq in mid-November, the Clinton administration has coaxed a number of major Arab governments to distance themselves from Iraq.

On Thursday, Arab newspapers issued scathing criticism of the U.S. action, but many major Arab leaders measured their words, often expressing concern about the welfare of Iraqi civilians.

The secretary-general of the Arab League, Essam Abdel Meguid, said, "This strike is considered to be an act of aggression against an Arab country that was trying to implement and comply with UN Security Council resolutions." He also asked why Israel, which has suspended implementation of a U.S.-brokered peace agreement, was going unpunished.

Selim Hoss, the newly designated Lebanese prime minister, condemned the air strikes as "a collective punishment and flagrant violation of all international charters on human rights."

But a senior Arab diplomat in Cairo said that a summit meeting of the 22-member Arab League was unlikely because Arab leaders harbored little sympathy for Mr. Saddam, Reuters reported.

Although Palestinians in several West Bank towns demonstrated in support of Iraq, their leader, Yasser Arafat, who backed in Mr. Clinton's presence in Gaza and Palestinian-controlled Bethlehem this week, was notably silent. That represented an about-face from the Gulf War of 1991, when Mr. Arafat openly sided with Mr. Saddam.



Palestinian children carrying Iraqi flags and posters of President Saddam Hussein during an anti-American rally in the Gaza Strip on Thursday.

One of Mr. Arafat's top aides, Saeb Erekat, delivered a carefully worded statement on the American action that fell short of outright condemnation.

"We demand an immediate cessation of this strike against Iraq," said Mr. Erekat, a principal Palestinian negotiator with Israel and the United States.

"We believe that only through peaceful means can such problems be solved."

Palestinians held their largest pro-Iraq rally in the West Bank town of Nablus, where a couple of thousand Palestinians took to the streets, chanting "Death to America" and "Death to Clinton."

In Amman, Jordan, dozens of women chained pro-Iraqi slogans and waved placards denouncing the first wave of U.S. attacks.

Several thousand students at Cairo University also staged demonstrations against the U.S. raids.

At the American University in Beirut, students carried out a sit-in during which they assailed the U.S. attacks as well as the acquiescence of Arab governments.

"They bury their heads in the sand out of fear and shame," one poster read.

In Ramallah, a city bustling with color and commerce, Palestinians nearly set fire to the towering municipal Christmas tree when they burned an American flag, along with British and Israeli flags, in a small rally in the central square.

Gulf Arab governments were low-key in their responses, with Qatar and Oman simply expressing concern over the safety of Iraqi citizens.

Israel Prepares Defense

But Iraqi Attack Is Highly Unlikely, It Says

By Joel Greenberg
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu issued a veiled warning Thursday that Israel would hit back if attacked by Saddam Hussein in response to the wave of American and British air strikes on Iraq.

"We reserve the right to self-defense," Mr. Netanyahu said in a radio interview. "Israel will know how to defend itself. I think everyone knows what Israel's capabilities are."

But even as the Israeli Army announced that it was positioning Patriot missile batteries to defend against a possible Iraqi missile attack, Israeli officials asserted that an attack was highly unlikely. Mr. Saddam's offensive capabilities were limited, they said, and he would not want to risk retaliation by Israel while he was under American and British assault.

At the urging of the army's civil defense command, some Israelis stocked up on gas masks and protective materials for their homes, but most went about their business with a sense that there was no imminent threat from the conflict in the Gulf.

"I'm neither calm nor hysterical, but I'm not worried," said Ilana Cohen, 35, a real estate agent, as she sat in a Jerusalem cafe. "It all seems so far away. I don't believe he'll attack us because he fears our response, which would be harsh. We wouldn't let him get away with it this time."

The State Department, meanwhile, ordered the departure of some staff and their family members at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv and the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem, recommending that other Americans should consider leaving the country. British travel companies evacuated several hundred tourists from the Red Sea resort of Eilat, while the Israeli Tourism Ministry announced that it had enough gas masks for all visitors.

Mr. Netanyahu, for his part, praised what he described as the "composure" of the Israeli public.

"Israel is prepared for every eventuality," Mr. Netanyahu said. "We are not involved in this conflict, and we have no intention of being involved in this conflict. But if someone wants to involve us, we know that Israel has the full right to self-defense, and there's no need to go into details."

In the 1991 Gulf War, Israel absorbed 39 Iraqi Scud missiles without a response in order to prevent a defection of Arab countries from the American-led coalition fighting Iraq. There is no such coalition today, and the Israelis feel free to respond to a possible Iraqi attack.

"We should definitely react," said Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan, a member of the rightist Tsomet Party and a former army chief of staff. "We should give them food for thought in the future. It would be a good warning to those around them, not only to them."

The civil defense command opened gas-mask distribution centers and called on the public to stock up on masks, plastic sheeting and masking tape to seal rooms in the event of an attack with chemical or biological weapons.

The army began deploying Patriot missile batteries near cities to defend against possible incoming Iraqi missiles, and a spokesman for the Defense Ministry said that Israel was using sophisticated radar and satellite links with the Americans to detect missile firings. Health officials met counterparts from the army's medical corps to plan responses to a possible attack with chemical or biological agents.

Yet, according to Israeli intelligence assessments, there is little evidence to suggest that Mr. Saddam has either the means or the incentive to fire missiles at Israel as he did during the Gulf War.

"At the moment, Saddam Hussein is preoccupied with defense against the United States, and our assessment is that as long as there is no concrete threat to his existence, he will not take steps to attack Israel that could embolden him on another front," Brigadier General Amos Gilad, chief of research for Israeli military intelligence, told a news conference.

"However, if and when he is on the verge of extinction, he certainly might take destructive steps that will involve firing individual missiles at Israel," General Gilad added. "There is a possibility of such an extreme scenario."

Moshe Arens, who was Defense Minister during the Gulf War, said that there was no comparison between the situation then and now. Mr. Saddam had more missiles and launchers during the Gulf War, and he hoped that by drawing Israel into the conflict he could drive a wedge between the United States and its Arab allies arrayed against him. "Today there are no Arab states in the coalition and he cannot achieve any logical objective by involving us in the conflict," Mr. Arens said.

The State Department said in a statement that although it believed "the risk of the use of chemical/biological weapons by Iraq is remote, that delivery would be difficult and that Saddam Hussein's capabilities are limited," there was concern that some diplomats and their families here could not be fully protected. The department ordered the departure of people under 18 or over 65, and pregnant women.

Missile Intended for Iraq Hits Iranian Border City

TEHRAN — A stray missile from the allied attack on Iraq crashed into a southwestern Iranian border city on Thursday, causing no casualties but prompting a strong diplomatic protest from Tehran.

The official Iranian press agency, IRNA, quoted a source in the port of Khorramshahr as saying the missile touched down near the city's central mosque, shattering nearby windows and damaging property within a 200-meter (660-foot) radius.

The source told IRNA that the missile had apparently targeted one of the Iraqi installations in the city of Basra, but instead hit Khorramshahr, IRNA said.

The blast spread panic in the city, which was virtually destroyed during the 1980-1988 war between Iran and Iraq, but there were no injuries, the agency said. Iranian television showed a row of apartments whose hallways were strewn with broken glass. The report said the projectile was a cruise missile, but it was unclear whether the weapon's warhead had exploded.

State radio said Foreign Ministry officials had lodged a protest over the incident with the ambassador of Switzerland, who represents the United States in Iran, and with the British charge d'affaires.

"The Swiss ambassador and British charge were summoned to the Foreign Ministry, where the Islamic Republic of Iran's strong protest regarding the landing of a missile in Khorramshahr was submitted to them," it said.

Ministry officials said they held Britain and America, which launched the joint attack against Iraq in the early hours on Thursday, local time, responsible for any damages or injuries.

No comment was available from the Western envoys, but the radio quoted them as saying the missile had deviated from its trajectory and that they expressed their regret.

The radio also quoted the Foreign Ministry as saying that Iranians making pilgrimages to holy Shiite Muslim sites in neighboring Iraq were safe and that preparations were under way for their return home.

PINOCHET: Law Lords Give General a 2d Chance at Immunity

Continued from Page 1

post with a charity is to hear a case touching on the very subject matter that charity has sworn to abolish.

Spain is seeking to try General Pinochet in Madrid on charges of genocide, terrorism and torture in the deaths and disappearances of more than 3,000 people.

Ms. Montgomery pointed out that Amnesty International had targeted her client as an enemy and associated him with the very crimes he is charged with in the Spanish petition. "When you consider how it appears," she said, "there is a reason to fear that Lord Hoffmann as a director of a company sworn to secure the end of torture and extrajudicial disappearances would be predisposed to find that no state immunity would attach to such acts."

In its ruling Nov. 25, the Law Lords argued that crimes like torture and hostage-taking did not enjoy sovereign immunity because they could not be considered functional acts of a head of state.

Lord Browne-Wilkinson made his announcement in the characteristically understated manner of the venerable House of Lords.

Speaking from a loose-leaf notebook to largely vacant red leather benches, he said, "I am satisfied that the earlier decision of this House cannot stand and must be set aside. It is impossible in the time available to prepare and give full reasons for that view — on the other hand, it is essential that the parties should know where they stand as soon as possible."

The ruling brought a sharp reversal in the feelings of opponents of General Pinochet, who have been cheered by a series of unexpected turns in their favor, and the general's supporters, who have become increasingly angry at the government for not setting him free.

"This case should now be brought to an end," said Sir Norman Fowler, the Conservatives' chief law enforcement representative, hailing the ruling. "This is a case which should be settled in Chile, not here in Britain."

Opponents of General Pinochet were despondent, and their first reactions were tinged with pessimism about the eventual outcome.

Carlos Reyes, spokesman for Chile Democratico and Chileans in Exile, said he was "in total shock" at the decision and feared that this "could be the way out for Pinochet." Andy McEntee, the chairman of Amnesty International, said, "Augusto Pinochet has very inventive lawyers. They are very good, very effective. They will make this a long case, one that is hard for him to lose."

Jeremy Corbyn, a Labour member of

CHINA: 2 Trials Retreat From Reforms

Continued from Page 1

part of a wider campaign against the increasing freedoms being enjoyed by most Chinese. Since March, the authorities have given scholars, authors and journalists more leeway in addressing sensitive political and social problems, and the government has shown greater tolerance of opposing views than its predecessors.

In recent weeks, however, more than 30 persons have been detained or interrogated in connection with the opposition effort, and nearly half of them remain in custody. Among those still in jail is Xu Weili, a longtime dissident.

In a bold show of support, more than 200 people from provinces as far away as Hainan Island in the south and Hebei in the north gathered Thursday outside the Hangzhou court where Mr. Wang's trial was held. The police detained at least 15 persons.

Outside Mr. Qin's trial, two persons were detained.

Relatives said that an attorney who agreed to defend Mr. Wang was apprehended at a train station this week in the northeast province of Liaoning and not allowed to leave. A lawyer who said he would defend Mr. Qin rescinded that offer under police pressure, according to a relative.

His brother said that Mr. Qin refused to answer any of the questions posed by either the three-judge panel or prosecutors. When Mr. Qin attempted to make a concluding argument, prosecutors and

Duma Considers Appeal to Lewinsky

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — Russian legislators considered a motion Thursday, appealing to Monica Lewinsky to help halt the American attack on Iraq.

"The State Duma appeals to Ms. Lewinsky to undertake corresponding measures to restrain the emotions of Bill Clinton," said the motion by a nationalist legislator, Alexander Filatov.

Members of the Duma, the lower chamber of Parliament, considered including the motion in a broader resolution denouncing the attack on Iraq. But seeking to speed up passage of the resolution, they approved it later Thursday without any additions. There was no separate vote on the Lewinsky amendment.

"Many people link it with Clinton's impeachment and his intimate relations with a certain person, but if these relations develop into such acts of vandalism, then all of U.S. democracy is worth a penny," said the Communist leader, Gennadi Zyuganov, during a debate in the Duma on the Iraqi crisis.

Also, during the Duma session, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, an ultranationalist leader and a supporter of Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, called Mr. Clinton an "international bandit who ought to be tried."

CHINA: 2 Trials Retreat From Reforms

Continued from Page 1

judges interrupted him seven times until an unidentified official in the audience called the bailiff over and passed a message to the judges to stop interrupting. Mr. Qin was then allowed to finish his statement.

Mr. Qin, 45, was accused of "inciting the overthrow of state power" in part because of his effort to register the China Democratic Party. Prosecutors also cited his work to found China's first homegrown human rights bulletin as another of his crimes.

Mr. Wang's wife, Hu Jiangxia, said her husband had prepared a defense of more than 20 pages but had time to make it through only 5 because of objections from court officials. Mr. Wang, 32, a former leader of protests around Tiananmen Square in 1989, started the effort to officially register the nascent opposition party in June on the day that President Bill Clinton arrived in China for a meeting with President Jiang Zemin.

Dissidents have taken advantage of China's recent openness to push for reform.

Activists like Mr. Xu, Mr. Qin and Mr. Wang revived the movement this year with a new strategy to engage the government publicly in the legal realm, where leaders had made international commitments to protect citizen rights.

By the end of their campaign, they had succeeded in convincing activists from 14 provinces and major cities to attempt to register the party. It was unprecedented show of support for the concept of an opposition group in China.

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Clinton & Iraq / Under Attack

Iraq May Hide Huge Stockpile of Deadly Germs, Inspectors Say

By Judith Miller
and William J. Broad
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — UN weapons inspectors have concluded that Iraq could be hiding two to five times more deadly germ agents than it had admitted to making, as well as warheads to deliver them, UN officials said.

In interviews, the inspectors said Iraq's systematic refusal to cooperate in recent weeks had deepened their suspicions, which stem from evidence they have gathered since the end of the 1991 Gulf War.

The inspectors disclosed that Iraq had failed to turn over a key log book of purchases by its germ program, which would account, among other things, for the amount of media, or special food for germs, it had bought.

Iraq also refused to open buildings for routine inspections and only belatedly

made available the Iraqi experts who could help resolve key discrepancies about Baghdad's production of germ weapons.

In his speech Wednesday night, President Bill Clinton said he had ordered the attack on Iraq to help contain Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. Mr. Clinton listed some of the obstacles and harassment inspectors faced. But the inspectors said the problems went far beyond the president's statements.

The scope of Iraq's germ program remains cloaked in mystery, the experts agreed, with every indication that Baghdad had backtracked during this latest round of inspections on even its previous minimal cooperation.

"Clearly," said one official who returned from Baghdad, "they weren't going to cooperate and were going out of their way to cause problems."

Iraq has already confessed to making

enough deadly microbes to kill all the people on earth several times over.

After the Gulf War, Baghdad admitted to having loaded botulinum toxin (which causes muscular paralysis resulting in death) into 16 warheads, anthrax (which causes high fever and is usually fatal within two weeks) into five warheads, and aflatoxin (which causes liver cancer) into four warheads.

It also acknowledged having filled 157 bombs with the same deadly agents, and having conducted research on ricin, a potent toxin (which causes nausea, vomiting and diarrhea); wheat cover smut (which ruins food grains); hemorrhagic conjunctivitis (which causes extreme pain and temporary blindness); rotavirus (which causes acute diarrhea that can lead to death) and camel pox (a camel version of small pox).

But the inspectors now believe that Iraq could well have gone even further, based on discrepancies between what

Iraq has declared having imported, consumed, and destroyed.

Inspectors said that the biological teams were denied at least three key documents, at least one of which was key to reconciling Iraq's reporting record.

According to two inspectors, the UN team asked the Iraqis on the morning of the first day of meetings for a "log book" that described purchases and imports for the germ program, which several of them had seen in 1995 but had failed to grasp as significant. Among the log book's entries were imported shipments of media, or the special foods used for growing germs.

At the first meeting, the Iraqis promised to produce the critical log book. But each day, they offered another excuse. The inspectors said the book was critical to estimating the amount of germ agents that Baghdad could have produced and turned into weapons.

At first, the Iraqi team said they could

not find the book, two inspectors said. Then the Iraqis said that the book should be retrievable, but that if they found it, they would need the approval of Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister, to release it to the team. By the last day of the meetings, the Iraqis indicated that they were still looking for the book.

In other cases, the Iraqis refused to provide documents they acknowledged existed. One was a list from the customs department of imported food to grow germs, which was also requested on the first day of the meetings. The Iraqis said they could not find it, an inspector said.

An inspector said that if Baghdad had used the imported germ food to grow deadly agents, especially anthrax in either liquid or dry form, the microbes could still be used in weapons.

On Dec. 4, Diane Seaman, a U.S. inspector, tried to lead a large, experienced biological team into a site inspectors considered routine. While

she was permitted to go the building, the Iraqis refused to open the doors of the office she sought to enter, telling her that she would have to "break down" the locked doors. "It was a holy day," one inspector conceded. "But there can be no exempt days or the inspection system wouldn't work."

The Iraqis also delayed making available key officials from the biological program whom the inspectors sought to interview. "We had asked for six," one inspector said. "But they only produced three of the people we wanted at the early meetings."

By the last meeting, when their usefulness was marginal, Iraq finally produced the contingent.

But the Iraqis have told inspectors that two top scientists in the germ program whom the United Nations wanted to question are out of the country. One of them was said to be in Britain, an allegation London has denied.

U.S. Air Strikes Might Fail in Ultimate Goal

By Rick Atkinson and Vernon Loeb
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton has laid out a loose set of aims for the latest Gulf military campaign, ranging from punishing Iraqi recalcitrance and shoring up U.S. credibility to compelling compliance with UN Security Council mandates and crippling Baghdad's enduring ambitions for weapons of mass destruction.

The most ambitious and heartfelt objective, however, is one that went unspoken except in Mr. Clinton's call for "a new Iraqi government": deposing President Saddam Hussein. U.S. planners hope that precise intelligence coupled with new refinements in precision weaponry will compensate for any shortfall in firepower, allowing the attacks to either fatally weaken the underpinnings of Mr. Saddam's regime or kill him outright.

While certainly lethal, the forces at hand are a pale shadow of those mustered for the first Gulf War eight years ago, particularly given the multiple objectives enumerated by Mr. Clinton. Several hundred Tomahawk missiles and air-launched cruise missiles, and a few hundred sorties by attack aircraft will degrade Iraq's capacity for building weapons of mass destruction and for threatening its neighbors. But as the Gulf War demonstrated, that sort of military punishment does not necessarily yield a political victory if Mr. Saddam remains defiantly in power.

The definition of success may be even more difficult in Gulf War II than it was in Gulf War I, where the restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty provided tangible proof of an allied victory. Without a change of regime in Bag-



Flashes illuminating the Baghdad horizon early Thursday as the attacks began. Iraqi anti-aircraft guns repeatedly fired all night.

dad, the chief trophy for the Clinton administration will be Iraqi rubble, perhaps at a cost of terminating UN weapons inspections and the last shred of big power harmony on Iraq.

Despite the efforts of Mr. Clinton and other senior U.S. officials to portray the attack as an effort to reinvigorate the UN inspection regime, some analysts said it was more likely to end the inspection system once and for all. That would leave the United States and the United Nations attempting to impose an arms control regime on Iraq solely through sanctions and other external pressures.

"We are going to war to get rid of Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, yet we are jeopardizing if not destroying our prospects of getting Saddam's weapons of mass destruction," said William Arkin, author of a highly regarded analysis of the 1991 air campaign.

Some U.S. intelligence officials believe the Iraqi dictator is increasingly vulnerable to internal dissent, external opposition and regional isolation.

Two of Mr. Saddam's sons, Qusay and Uday, recently have been given expanded

authority, making nearly all of the ruling Ba'ath Party senior officials and government ministries subordinate to one or the other of them. Those moves are interpreted by intelligence sources to indicate substantial rivalries within the inner circle.

As for compelling Iraq to "come into cooperation" and "comply" with UN mandates, as Mr. Clinton put it, air power as a tool of coercive diplomacy rarely has been effective.

The allied coalition during the 43-day Gulf War dropped 88,500 tons of bombs, more than fell on Japan in the last six weeks of World War II. Even then, the U.S.-led coalition forces needed a massive land attack into southern Iraq to obtain not an unconditional surrender but a limited capitulation.

Mr. Clinton's political perils at home mean that his ability to rally and sustain support for an extended attack is limited. "The situation is so hazy that one hesitates to know where to begin," said Elliot Cohen, a Johns Hopkins University strategic studies expert who extensively studied the Gulf War air campaign.

"I think the main thing is that the coalition is pretty fragile. Once you take some serious

civilian casualties, all of a sudden people start hailing out."

Bringing about Mr. Saddam's ouster with air power alone has proved impossible before. The air armada that waged the 1991 campaign totaled about 2,700 aircraft, compared with 201 U.S. planes currently in the Gulf region, supplemented by a dozen British bombers.

The current "target set" likely emphasized leadership targets and facilities used in the development of weapons of mass destruction, with U.S. planners benefiting immensely from seven years of intelligence gathered by UN weapons inspectors and information disgorged by highly placed Iraqi defectors. One analyst familiar with U.S. planning estimated Wednesday that potential nuclear, biological and chemical weapons targets now exceed 200, including dairies, breweries, pharmaceutical plants and other facilities that could have a legitimate civilian purpose as well as military potential. Forty-three such targets were hit during the Gulf War.

"The biggest difference between then and now is, the Iraqis are much, much weaker and we know much, much more," Mr. Cohen said. "That doesn't mean we'll be successful."

A 'Legal' Assault

Experts Cite UN and U.S. Resolutions

By Neil A. Lewis
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The legal justification for bombing of Iraq by U.S. forces is contained in congressional and UN resolutions dating from the 1991 Gulf War, government officials and scholars of international law said.

The most important element was the resolution adopted by the United Nations to end the Gulf War in February 1991, which was cited Wednesday by James Rubin, the State Department spokesman. That resolution provided for a cease-fire and established a system under which Iraq would demolish weapons of mass destruction and allow unrestricted inspections of suspected weapons sites by a UN commission.

Asked about the legal authority to launch a military strike, Mr. Rubin told reporters: "I think one need go no further than talk to the subject of the cease-fire resolution, Resolution 687, which set forth the conditions for a cease-fire."

Because Iraq has thwarted the weapons inspections required by the cease-fire resolution, Mr. Rubin said, the United Nations may then fall back on the earlier resolution, that authorized military force and began the Gulf War, the start of which President George Bush announced on Jan. 16, 1991.

Ruth Wedgwood, a professor at Yale Law School, argued in the current issue of the American Journal of International Law that the cease-fire resolution was conditioned on Iraq's acceptance of inspections of suspected weapons sites. By blocking the inspectors, she said, the cease-fire resolution was automatically suspended.

She also said that the United States was not required to go back to the United Nations for additional permission.

Ms. Wedgwood added that the bombing of Iraq in January 1993 by forces from the United States, Britain and France reinforced the notion that such nations may act by themselves to enforce UN resolutions. That bombing occurred after Baghdad prevented weapons inspectors from using the Habbaniyah airfield, effectively preventing short-notice inspections.

But Michael Ramey, a lawyer with the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, said he believed that the United States had no legal right to conduct the military operation against Iraq. "Mr. Ramey," who brought an unsuccessful lawsuit in 1990 trying to block the Gulf War, said that after the cease-fire was in place, all authorization to bomb Iraq ended.

He said the United Nations would have to first formally declare that there has been "a material breach" of the cease-fire before it could fall back on the resolutions authorizing military force. To do otherwise, he argued, would allow "any nation in the world to decide unilaterally that Iraq has breached its promise to abide by the cease-fire resolution and bomb Baghdad."

A second legal issue is whether President Bill Clinton may authorize military force on his own without congressional authorization. The constitution vests Congress with the sole power to declare war. Yet according to various experts' tallies, presidents have sent forces abroad 130 to 200 times since the founding of the republic, even though Congress has explicitly declared war on only five occasions: the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Spanish-American War and the two world wars.

Administration officials have argued that a resolution passed by Congress on the eve of the 1991 Gulf War provides the justification for the president to act unilaterally.

TRAVEL UPDATE

London-Delhi Flights Canceled

NEW DELHI (Reuters) — United Airlines canceled several flights between London and New Delhi for Thursday and Friday because of the U.S.-led air strikes against Iraq, while other carriers said they were closely tracking events in the Gulf. Iraq lies in the path of London-Delhi flights.

British Airways said it planned to operate its entire schedule Thursday. But at Air France, an executive there said, "At the moment, there are no cancellations." He said Air France would monitor the developments in Iraq.

Northwest Airlines said the Iraq crisis had not affected its flight schedules between India and the United States.

TB Risk in Air Travel Is on Rise

GENEVA (AP) — The resurgence of tuberculosis has increased the risk of passengers or crews on long-distance flights catching the disease, the World Health Organization said Thursday.

Claus Curdt-Christiansen, a member of a special panel of the United Nations agency, said, "Inflight exposure to infectious tuberculosis in co-passengers has become a realistic possibility owing to the high prevalence of tuberculosis in some regions of the world."

The agency stressed that no case of active TB had yet been discovered as a result of exposure to the disease on a commercial aircraft. Mario Ravighione of WHO's communicable diseases unit called the risk of catching TB on an airliner "very low."

Forest Fires Caused Smell in Jet

ZURICH (AP) — Forest fires on the Indonesian island of Sumatra are believed to have caused an acrid smell in the cockpit of a Swissair MD-11 that prompted the captain to turn back, the company said Thursday.

Flight 189 from Singapore to Zurich turned back 41 minutes after takeoff on Nov. 26. An analysis of the air filter systems had shown a large amount of burnt organic material, the airline said.

Dutch Airport Closes 2 Runways

AMSTERDAM (AP) — Schiphol Airport, the busiest aviation hub in the Netherlands, closed two runways Thursday to all-night flights for the rest of the year to avoid surpassing noise pollution limits.

Aircraft unable to land on the remaining two runways because of adverse weather conditions will be rerouted to another airport, Schiphol said. A third runway was closed to night flights this year and will remain so until Jan. 1.

French Airport Crews Plan Strike

PARIS (AP) — Fuel crews at 10 of France's biggest airports are to go on strike Friday and cause some delays or cancellations on the first major travel day of the holiday season, airline officials said Thursday.

The one-day walkout is to affect both Paris airports as well as those serving Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Montpellier, Marseille, Nice, Perpignan, and Toulouse, union officials said. Pay and schedules are at issue.

Unions covering ground staff at Orly Airport, south of Paris, have urged their members to strike on two of the busiest days of the year — Dec. 24 and 31 — to back claims for permanent work contracts and higher pay. (AFP)

Japan Airlines is seeking Japanese government permission to start a service between Tokyo and Dallas/Fort Worth beginning March 15. (Reuters)

Saddam Hails 'Day of Triumph'

Reuters

BAGHDAD — The Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, has named the start of U.S.-led military strikes against his country as "the Day of Triumph," Baghdad radio reported.

"President Saddam Hussein has called today, in which Iraqis have confronted the American-British deceitful aggression, the Day of Fate," the radio said. "May God make it a day of sustained triumph and a historic day for Iraq under the leadership of Saddam Hussein," it added.

Hundreds of protesters organized by Arab doctors attending a conference in Baghdad, protested the air strikes Thursday and called on the United Nations to stop the bombing. The demonstrators delivered a written message to a UN official in Baghdad addressed to Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

WEATHER

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by AccuWeather.

Europe			
City	Today	Low	High
Amsterdam	50-55	45-50	55-60
Antwerp	50-55	45-50	55-60
Brussels	50-55	45-50	55-60
Cologne	50-55	45-50	55-60
Düsseldorf	50-55	45-50	55-60
Frankfurt	50-55	45-50	55-60
Hamburg	50-55	45-50	55-60
London	50-55	45-50	55-60
Madrid	50-55	45-50	55-60
Munich	50-55	45-50	55-60
Nuremberg	50-55	45-50	55-60
Paris	50-55	45-50	55-60
Rome	50-55	45-50	55-60
Stockholm	50-55	45-50	55-60
Vienna	50-55	45-50	55-60
Zurich	50-55	45-50	55-60

North America			
City	Today	Low	High
Anchorage	50-55	45-50	55-60
Atlanta	50-55	45-50	55-60
Boston	50-55	45-50	55-60
Chicago	50-55	45-50	55-60
Dallas	50-55	45-50	55-60
Denver	50-55	45-50	55-60
Detroit	50-55	45-50	55-60
Houston	50-55	45-50	55-60
Los Angeles	50-55	45-50	55-60
London	50-55	45-50	55-60
Manila	50-55	45-50	55-60
Memphis	50-55	45-50	55-60
Minneapolis	50-55	45-50	55-60
Moscow	50-55	45-50	55-60
New York	50-55	45-50	55-60
Phoenix	50-55	45-50	55-60
Portland	50-55	45-50	55-60
San Francisco	50-55	45-50	55-60
Seattle	50-55	45-50	55-60
St. Louis	50-55	45-50	55-60
Tampa	50-55	45-50	55-60
Washington	50-55	45-50	55-60

Asia			
City	Today	Low	High
Almaty	50-55	45-50	55-60
Bangkok	50-55	45-50	55-60
Beijing	50-55	45-50	55-60
Bombay	50-55	45-50	55-60
Calcutta	50-55	45-50	55-60
Chengdu	50-55	45-50	55-60
Colombo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Hong Kong	50-55	45-50	55-60
Kobe	50-55	45-50	55-60
London	50-55	45-50	55-60
Manila	50-55	45-50	55-60
Moscow	50-55	45-50	55-60
New York	50-55	45-50	55-60
Osaka	50-55	45-50	55-60
Paris	50-55	45-50	55-60
Perth	50-55	45-50	55-60
Rangoon	50-55	45-50	55-60
Seoul	50-55	45-50	55-60
Shanghai	50-55	45-50	55-60
Singapore	50-55	45-50	55-60
Taipei	50-55	45-50	55-60
Tokyo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Yokohama	50-55	45-50	55-60

Africa			
City	Today	Low	High
Abuja	50-55	45-50	55-60
Accra	50-55	45-50	55-60
Algiers	50-55	45-50	55-60
Antananarivo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Cairo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Dakar	50-55	45-50	55-60
Harare	50-55	45-50	55-60
Johannesburg	50-55	45-50	55-60
Khartoum	50-55	45-50	55-60
Lagos	50-55	45-50	55-60
Maputo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Nairobi	50-55	45-50	55-60
Rabat	50-55	45-50	55-60
Tripoli	50-55	45-50	55-60
Windhoek	50-55	45-50	55-60

Latin America			
City	Today	Low	High
Buenos Aires	50-55	45-50	55-60
Caracas	50-55	45-50	55-60
Guatemala	50-55	45-50	55-60
Havana	50-55	45-50	55-60
La Paz	50-55	45-50	55-60
Lima	50-55	45-50	55-60
Managua	50-55	45-50	55-60
Medellin	50-55	45-50	55-60
Montevideo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Quito	50-55	45-50	55-60
Santiago	50-55	45-50	55-60
Sao Paulo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Tegucigalpa	50-55	45-50	55-60
Valparaiso	50-55	45-50	55-60

Oceania			
City	Today	Low	High
Auckland	50-55	45-50	55-60
Brisbane	50-55	45-50	55-60
Canberra	50-55	45-50	55-60
Honolulu	50-55	45-50	55-60
Los Angeles	50-55	45-50	55-60
Manila	50-55	45-50	55-60
Melbourne	50-55	45-50	55-60
Perth	50-55	45-50	55-60
Sydney	50-55	45-50	55-60
Tokyo	50-55	45-50	55-60
Yokohama	50-55	45-50	55-60

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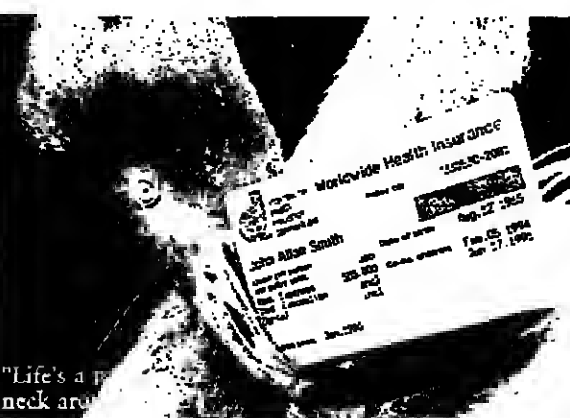
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ASIA/PACIFIC

Clashes in Jakarta Leave Scores of Students Hurt

Violence Follows Strong Warning by Habibie

New York Times Service
JAKARTA — Scores of students were wounded by rubber bullets in clashes Thursday with Indonesian security forces only hours after President B.J. Habibie warned that unrest on the streets could lead to the "disintegration of the nation."

The clash in central Jakarta, near Parliament, was the worst violence since Nov. 13, when 14 people were shot and killed and scores were wounded during anti-government demonstrations spearheaded by university students.

Speaking Thursday at an armed forces graduation ceremony in Jakarta, Mr. Habibie said: "There is a tendency to fight for political power through demonstrations. If uncontrolled, these could lead to the disintegration of the nation."

"Freedom of public expression is every citizen's right and is protected by law," he added. "It should not be at the cost of other people's rights."

With tempers fraying on both sides, students who want former President Suharto arrested on corruption charges bled rocks at riot police and soldiers who, in turn, fired warning shots, tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowd of 4,000.

Witnesses saw riot police hurling rocks back at the students.

Late Thursday afternoon, reinforcements, including elite naval Marines, were rushed to support the riot police and Kostard, or Strategic Reserve, units. This brought the total combined military strength to about 1,000 men.

By nightfall, security forces formed blocks of 100 and, banging their truncheons on their riot shields, started to march down the main toll road outside the Parliament building to clear the highway. The students had already dispersed, however.

Defense analysts say Indonesian security forces have adopted new tactics

to try to avoid bloodshed on the streets.

These include the use of stronger variants of tear gas, water cannon and additional use of barbed wire barricades to seal off roads.

As an additional safety measure, the armed forces chief, General Wiranto, has ordered that soldiers and riot police in face-to-face contact with student demonstrators should be unarmed except for batons and shields.

But this does not include massed ranks of security forces standing behind the front lines. These soldiers are armed with automatic rifles loaded with rubber bullets and tear-gas grenade launchers.

Students clashed with security forces Wednesday over a proposal by General Wiranto to recruit a 40,000-strong civilian militia to help maintain law and order on Jakarta's streets.

The proposal has also raised concerns among opposition politicians, human rights advocates and diplomats worried that the short training and recruitment period could result in the formation of an ill-disciplined and partisan force.

A retired armed forces chief, General Abdul Haris Nasution, has also added his voice to opponents of the militia force.

"It will only make things worse in the midst of the present social conflict," he said Wednesday.

Indonesia's total police force numbers about 200,000, too small to provide an adequate policing role in a nation of 220 million people, according to the government.

On Wednesday, a senior Indonesian cabinet minister called for a slowdown of democratic reforms, warning of widespread unrest unless the country's economic problems are solved first.

"I think we've gone too far and too fast in this area of openness," Culture and Education Minister Juwono Sudarsono said at a meeting of the Indonesia-



An Indonesian soldier helping a comrade to safety after he was beaten by protesters in Jakarta on Thursday.

Australia Business Council. Management of Indonesia's democratic reform process should be undertaken peacefully and in stages because of the potential for unrest in an "environment of economic deprivation," he said.

"Things have been put into better shelter now," he said. "I think there has to be a sense of proportion in the degree of change we need to implement."

Appeal for Peace in East Timor

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Nobel laureate, appealed Thursday to East Timorese to halt a series of street protests and show respect for Christmas and the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan, Agence France-Presse reported from Jakarta.

"I deeply disagree with acts of protest which coincide with the days on which Christians are preparing to celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ and ahead of the Muslim holy month of

Ramadan, a month of restraint," Bishop Belo was quoted as saying by Antara, the Indonesian state press agency.

Speaking in the East Timorese capital of Dili, Bishop Belo also urged East Timorese "to sit down together for a dialogue" instead of parading through the city in protest.

His call came as the East Timorese, who are overwhelmingly Catholic, were preparing to stage protests during a planned visit by Jamshed Marker, special envoy of UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, for East Timor.

It echoed an appeal in Jakarta by Indonesian religious affairs minister, Malik Fajar, last week, in which he called on students to halt their almost daily protests to respect Ramadan.

Pro-independence East Timorese students have stepped up their protests, most of which call for a referendum on self-determination since the fall of President Suharto in May.

Mr. Suharto ordered the invasion of the former Portuguese colony in 1975. His annexation of the territory was not recognized by the United Nations.

Indonesian students in Jakarta, who are clamoring for Mr. Suharto to be brought to trial for abuse of power and corruption during his 32-year rule, have vowed to pursue their pro-reform demonstrations throughout the fasting month.

But some have said they were considering a softer approach out of respect for those observing Ramadan.

The fasting month, during which Muslims fast from sunrise to sundown, will start in Indonesia on Sunday.

Although East Timor is predominantly Catholic, Ramadan is observed by the Muslim population of the territory, which comprises Indonesian civil servants, troops, merchants and government-sponsored settlers.

U.S. General Defends Chats At Panmunjom

By Don Kirk
 International Herald Tribune

PANMUNJOM — The U.S. general in charge of military negotiations with North Koreans in this truce village has defended informal gatherings with North Korean Army officers, saying that cutting off such contacts would close an important channel for easing tensions.

Major General Michael Hayden of the U.S. Air Force, deputy chief of staff for the United Nations Command, which includes U.S. and South Korean troops, cited the sessions as one element in a wide range of contacts with the North. They were held in a building astride the line between the two Koreas.

He was angered by a report last week that revealed informal but authorized gatherings of North Korean and American officers over whiskey and beer.

A former senior U.S. State Department official, in revealing the gatherings, had said the meetings yielded "substantial misinformation" from the North and probably had led to contacts between North and South Korean soldiers that are barred by South Korean law.

The official, Kenneth Quinones, also had said he believed the talks had been "shut down."

General Hayden said there had been no such order.

The general characterized talks at several different levels as "tightly tied to the purposes of Panmunjom, the only crossing between South and North Korea and the site of the signing of the armistice that ended the Korean War in July 1953."

U.S. military commanders said they hoped to maintain such informal meetings despite an investigation into illegal contacts between South Korean and North Koreans in the Joint Security Area, a 50-hectare (125-acre) buffer that straddles the line here. Both American and South Korean soldiers are assigned to a security battalion commanded by an American officer.

General Hayden drew a sharp distinction between the informal talks and formal talks that he occasionally conducts with a North Korean general in a boiler room building in the same row on the North-South line. The talks between generals, suspended by the North in 1991, resumed in June after a North Korean submarine was snared in a fishing net off South Korea's east coast.

"My role in all of this," the general said, "is to pass" to the Korean People's Army "what we want to meet with them."

The talks, both formal and informal, appear to be another sign of a broadening dialogue in which South and North Korean diplomats have met in four-party talks in Geneva with American and Chinese representatives and U.S. and North Korean diplomats have met in New York and Washington. General Hayden is as a member of the U.S. delegation to a four-party talks, last held in October.

"At Geneva, they're talking about replacing the armistice with a peace treaty," said John Barry Kotch, a scholar who has written extensively on the negotiations. "At Panmunjom, they talk about maintaining the armistice. Both sets of talks are vital to keeping the peace."

China Levels Ancient Mosque to Assist Urban Redevelopment

Washington Post Service

BEIJING — An ancient mosque in the central Chinese city of Chengdu that local Muslims transformed into a symbol of China's endangered cultural heritage has been demolished to make way for commercial development, according to sources in the city.

Muslims had tried for months to rally support for the Imperial City mosque, built in 1666. Scores of workers and police officers converged on the site in a swift, nighttime raid on Nov. 22 and destroyed the classical wooden temple,

sources said. "The masses have cried over this; it's such a shame," said a Chengdu believer.

He added that most Muslims had refused to enter a new mosque built by the city nearby as compensation, despite reports in the government-controlled media that Muslims are pleased with the move.

The old mosque was on valuable real estate abutting a vast new city square. Local officials hope the new square will help turn Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province, into an international

destination for tourists. Basharat Jamil, president of Humanity International, an aid group based in Washington that had been working to save the mosque, said the demolition would "hurt the feelings of 1 billion Muslims."

On Nov. 19, Humanity International faxed a letter to Li Zhaoxing, China's ambassador to the United States, offering to help turn the old mosque into a tourist site for Muslims.

Mr. Jamil sent letters to 12 affluent Islamic countries to raise funds for the mosque and several of them expressed

interest in the proposal, he said.

The mosque was demolished on Nov. 22, but on Nov. 30 Mr. Li responded with what Mr. Jamil thought was a positive letter.

In a reference to the new mosque built by Chengdu authorities, Mr. Li wrote, "It cannot be put into operation until the believers who disagree with the decision of relocation can be brought around."

"This gave us a lot of hope," Mr. Jamil said.

"We were working hard."

INTERNATIONAL

As Peacekeepers Bog Down, Sierra Leone Rebels Step Up Fight

By James Rupert
 Washington Post Service

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone — Nine months after Nigerian troops forced a military junta out of power in Sierra Leone and restored the elected president, the civil war here has tapped into a stalemate that continues to draw in neighboring countries while driving out immense numbers of refugees.

Bands of former Sierra Leone Army troops, whose leaders seized power here in May 1997 and were ousted by Nigerian peacekeepers last March, are roaming the country's northern region. And a guerrilla movement that was part of the short-lived junta, the Revolutionary United Front, controls a strategic eastern area, according to a spokesman for the Nigerian-led peacekeeping force known as Ecomog.

The peacekeeping force has deployed about 10,000 troops in towns across much of the country, but for months, it has made no lasting advance against the rebels.

The stalemate "is boosting the morale of the rebels and their activity is increasing," said Francis Okelo, the United Nations special envoy trying to resolve the conflict.

The conflict in Sierra Leone is the most violent of several that in recent years have destabilized a 1,600-kilometer (1,000-mile) stretch of the West African coast, including uprisings in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and the Casamance region of Senegal.

Liberia, whose own seven-year civil war ended two years ago, appears significantly entangled in the conflict in Sierra Leone.

Foreign diplomats in the region and

senior officials in Sierra Leone say that Liberia's government is either allowing or actively helping Sierra Leonean rebels to find supplies and recruits in Liberia.

Liberia's president, Charles Taylor, has denied the accusation and has accused Sierra Leone, and the Nigerian troops here, of seeking to overthrow him.

In their attacks, the Sierra Leonean rebels have killed civilians or mutilated them and have burned and looted villages, sending refugees into Guinea and Liberia. This war and the one recently ended in Liberia have forced more than 700,000 people to flee their countries, the largest concentration of cross-border refugees in Africa, said Khassim Diagne, a spokesman in West Africa for the UN refugee agency.

African and Western analysts say the

peacekeeping force, if reinforced, might be able to push back the rebels and force them to negotiate seriously with the government. Two years ago, a larger peacekeeping force halted the civil war in Liberia and partly disarmed warring factions, relying on troops from eight West African states, plus millions of dollars in logistical support from the United States.

"A successful Ecomog offensive could open a brief window of opportunity for a settlement" of the war, said a Western analyst who asked not to be identified. But several observers said that any such offensive would require at least 5,000 more troops and a longer-term U.S. commitment to logistical support than its current offer, which is good for less than a year, the analyst said.

To bolster the Nigerian troops in Sierra Leone, the peacekeeping force and

Sierra Leone's president, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, rely heavily on ill-disciplined militias, mainly from Mr. Kabbah's southern-based Mende tribe, to pursue the rebels into the bush. But the militias, called *kamajors*, also have committed excesses, and their role complicates any effort to negotiate with the rebels, analysts said.

The Sierra Leonean government and diplomats elsewhere in the region say that Liberia appears to be helping the rebel Revolutionary United Front, which for years was allied with Mr. Taylor in Liberia when he was a militia leader.

The front has been recruiting fighters in refugee camps in western Liberia, and Liberian fighters have been captured with the front's forces in Sierra Leone, said Lieutenant Colonel R. F. Okunola, the spokesman for the peacekeeping force.

Sierra Leone's presidential spokesman, Septimus Kaiak, said his country's government was "not aware" that there is necessarily a Liberian government policy of backing the front.

But Mr. Kaiak accused Mr. Taylor's administration of allowing the front to seek arms, supplies and recruits in Liberia for the war in Sierra Leone.

Foreign Minister Monie Caplan of Liberia denied that his country has aided the front.

Tension between Sierra Leone and Liberia sharpened this fall when Mr. Kabbah's government sent a note to Mr. Taylor about a visit to Freetown by a Liberian opposition figure, saying there was evidence of a coup plot against Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Taylor accused Sierra Leone of complicity in the alleged plot.

A diplomat in Liberia's capital, Monrovia, said Mr. Taylor was "deeply suspicious of Sierra Leone because of its alignment with Ecomog," which for years frustrated Mr. Taylor's effort to seize power during Liberia's civil war.

In Freetown last month, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, a special envoy for Africa for the Clinton administration, publicly pressed Mr. Kabbah to open talks with the rebels.

Mr. Kabbah reached a peace accord with the rebel front's leader, Foday Sankoh, in 1996, but it quickly fell apart. Mr. Sankoh then backed the May 1997 coup against Mr. Kabbah and, although Mr. Sankoh was in detention in Nigeria, he was appointed the junta's deputy leader.

Mr. Sankoh is now in jail here, appealing a death sentence for his role in the coup. He is the only person who can wield real authority as a negotiator for the rebel front, and thus should be kept alive, Sierra Leonean and Western analysts said.

BRIEFLY

Angolan Battle Reported

LISBON — Angolan government troops killed 63 UNITA rebels and some foreign mercenaries in fighting around Kuito in the central highlands on Wednesday, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

In a dispatch from Luanda, it quoted military sources as saying the fighting took place in Cunji district. Two of the dead were white men who had been driving UNITA tanks, Lusa said.

High-ranking military sources told Lusa that the attempt by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to take Cunji and Kuito had failed. A government military source said some of the UNITA soldiers wore Rwandan and Ugandan army uniforms. (Reuters)

Guinea President Leads Vote

CONAKRY, Guinea — President Lansana Conte took a huge lead over his three main challengers in partial election results reported Thursday.

According to the results, Mr. Conte won in all but three of 18 constituencies declared. The 20 districts that remain to be counted include the strongholds of Alpha Conde, the opposition leader, who was arrested Tuesday for trying to leave the country illegally. (Reuters)

For the Record

Philip True, 50, a reporter for the San Antonio (Texas) Express-News, who was found dead after disappearing on a hike in the remote mountains of western Mexico, was strangled, the Jalisco state coroner said Thursday. (AP)



Ehud Barak, leader of the main opposition Labor Party, firing the opening shots Thursday in a campaign to challenge Mr. Netanyahu.

Netanyahu Faces Uphill Fight in Poll

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel got off to a shaky start Thursday ahead of an expected call for early elections as opinion polls showed him trailing his likeliest opponents.

Trouble was also already brewing in the Palestinian territories as Netanyahu aides said the expected election campaign would force a prolonged freeze on implementation of the troubled Wye River land-for-security deal.

Mr. Netanyahu announced late Wednesday that he would call early elections unless Parliament on Monday approved his hard-line conditions for pursuing the peace process with the Palestinians.

Israeli politicians from Mr. Netanyahu's fractious right-wing coalition and the leftist opposition said the government would almost certainly lose Monday's vote, although a last minute change of heart by key deputies could not be ruled out.

A senior Israeli official said an election would mean halting the U.S.-brokered land-for-security accord throughout the period of campaigning, a paralysis of four to six months that Palestinians called unjustified.

A senior Israeli official predicted Likud and Labor would agree on a date for elections, most likely in April. The elections were not scheduled to take place until late 2000.

Mr. Netanyahu was already facing a parliamentary vote of no-confidence on Monday that most observers said he would lose because of a revolt by hard-line members of his coalition who oppose the U.S.-brokered peace accord he signed in October.

By submitting his own parliamentary motion, Mr. Netanyahu sought to cast the probable election campaign in his own terms — as a battle between his camp which wants to defend Israel's security interests in the

negotiations on a final peace deal with the Palestinians and leftists who will cede all the occupied territories for the creation of a Palestinian state.

A survey by the Gallup Institute showed that were elections held Thursday, Mr. Netanyahu would lose against either Ehud Barak, head of the main opposition Labor Party, or the political newcomer Lieutenant General Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, a former army chief many see as the successor to the slain Labor premier Yitzhak Rabin.

Both Mr. Netanyahu and Mr. Barak could face challenges in their own camps in a race for the prime minister's job.

Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai have both been tipped as potential candidates from Likud. Roni Milo and Dan Meridor, both former Likud members, are also preparing a challenge. (AFP, Reuters)

Clinton & Iraq / Under Attack

Palette of World Reaction: Anger, Skepticism — and Tepid Support

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — Reaction to the American and British attacks on Iraq ranged on Thursday from the predictable anger in parts of the world, to skepticism in France, and to support shaded with regret from Washington's European allies.

Some governments said the United Nations should have been given the opportunity to debate the report from the UN's weapons inspection team, alleging Iraqi noncompliance with the world organization, which Washington stated was the reason for its action.

"This is a sad day for the United Nations and the world," said the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan. Many governments expressed a similar sentiment, while nevertheless recognizing that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had brought the attacks on himself.

Speaking for the European Union, Foreign Minister Wolfgang Schüssel, said that member nations "agreed that the blame for the strikes lay squarely with Saddam Hussein," but he added,

"All believed a political solution would have been preferable."

The European response ranged from supportive to skeptical.

"The German government, politically, supports the United States," said the German defense minister, Rudolf Scharping. The chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, said that "our solidarity with the United States and Britain" as allies "is beyond doubt."

But the Italian prime minister, Massimo D'Alema, said the bombardment "serves no purpose." His government said it would work for the end of the military intervention and to place the crisis back in the hands of the United Nations.

Prime Minister Wim Kok of the Netherlands said the intervention was dramatic, but added that the Americans and British were best placed to know that it was unavoidable.

The Portuguese defense minister, Jose Vega Simao, said he had "full confidence in the judgment of our British and American colleagues."

Discussion of the attacks dominated a meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels, where

the Spanish defense minister, Eduardo Serra, said a "big majority" of his colleagues understood the need for the strikes. But the NATO meeting again pointed to the Europeans' difficulty in reaching consensus about defense policy.

The action found Britain and France on different sides of an argument less than two weeks after they had agreed to cooperate more closely on defense.

While Britain expressed unreserved support for President Bill Clinton, the French cabinet took a more distant view and regretted that diplomacy had not been given a chance.

The French foreign minister, Hubert Vedrine, said that the government was "skeptical about the effectiveness of military strikes."

While noting that Mr. Saddam was to blame, he told the French Senate that he could not understand how the action would accomplish the aim of ensuring that Iraq would not again become a threat to the region.

"France can only regret the way in which the Security Council was deprived of the possibility of holding a normal debate" on the report by the

UN Special Commission for disarming Iraq, Mr. Vedrine said.

President Jacques Chirac said that responsibility for the crisis "lies clearly with the Iraqi president," but added that the crisis would not be solved by air strikes. "The role and the will of France is to do everything to facilitate an end to the crisis," he said.

The conservative Figaro newspaper — which like much of the French press said Mr. Clinton had ordered the strikes to distract from the impending House impeachment vote — commented that even the president "knows bombs are not the solution."

Two former UN employees who resigned over policy toward Iraq criticized the bombardment. Scott Ritter, who resigned from the Special Commission in August, asserted in a newspaper interview that the UN report was a "setup" to give a pretext for the attacks.

He said the author, Richard Butler, the commission's chairman, had been told "to sharpen the language in his report to justify the bombing." The commission did not immediately reply to the accusation.

The former UN humanitarian coordinator for Iraq, Dennis Halliday, said that the bombardment went "way beyond" what the United Nations intended and warned that even if Iraq's entire civilian and military infrastructure was destroyed, the regime could still continue to manufacture "appalling weapons."

Mr. Halliday called the attacks a "very short-term solution with long-term consequences." While President Clinton said one reason for the attacks was to prevent Iraq from menacing its neighbors, most of them were cool or hostile to the military action.

China expressed its "deep shock" over the bombardment.

President Jiang Zemin was quoted as saying that the use of force would bring "severe consequences to the situation in the Gulf region and international relations." China also slammed the UN special commission for withdrawing its inspectors without consulting the Security Council.

Among America's allies in Asia, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand expressed outright support for the bombardment.

Blair Defends Clinton Timing As Courageous

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

LONDON — At No. 10 Downing Street, Prime Minister Tony Blair told associates on Wednesday that he was eager to take on any critics of his friend President Bill Clinton, and on Thursday he came out swinging in the House of Commons.

Pausing in his earnest report to members of Parliament about air raids over Iraq by British Tornado jets, Mr. Blair suddenly stood back from the dispatch box podium and let fly.

"I want to deal with one thing straight on," he said. "There are suggestions that the timing of military action is somehow linked to the internal affairs of the U.S. I refute this entirely."

"I have no doubt at all that action is fully justified now, and that is my strong personal view. I know that President Clinton reached the same conclusion."

There were heavy cheers around the hall, but he was not finished.

"Had he acted differently out of regard to internal matters of U.S. politics," Mr. Blair continued, "that would have been a dereliction of his duty as president. Instead, and not for the first time, he has shown the courage to do the right thing, and he has my full support."

The stirring expression met with no criticism in the Commons, where even Conservative members with little sympathy for Mr. Clinton have expressed puzzlement and dismay over the intrusion of American domestic politics into an international crisis.

Twenty-four hours earlier, the spokesman for Mr. Blair said that if anyone questioned the president's motivation for attacking Iraq on the basis of his "personal difficulties," the prime minister would produce a "robust" defense.

It is not the first time that Mr. Blair has stood, shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Clinton at a moment when his behavior has called into question his performance as president. Mr. Blair visited Washington last February when the evidence of Mr. Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky was first emerging, and he marked the occasion with an effusive toast of personal testament at a White House dinner.

"I am delighted to call Bill Clinton a friend and I believe what's more important than anything else is that he does a good job as president," he said in an interview at the time. "And for that he deserves all our support, so it's as simple as that, really."

Russia Assails Unilateral Deed

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The bombing of Iraq set off a torrent of criticism from the United States on Thursday from Russian leaders who deplored the unilateral attack.

The Communists, the largest faction in the lower house of Parliament, the State Duma, vowed to put off once again a vote on the long-delayed START-2 strategic arms treaty.

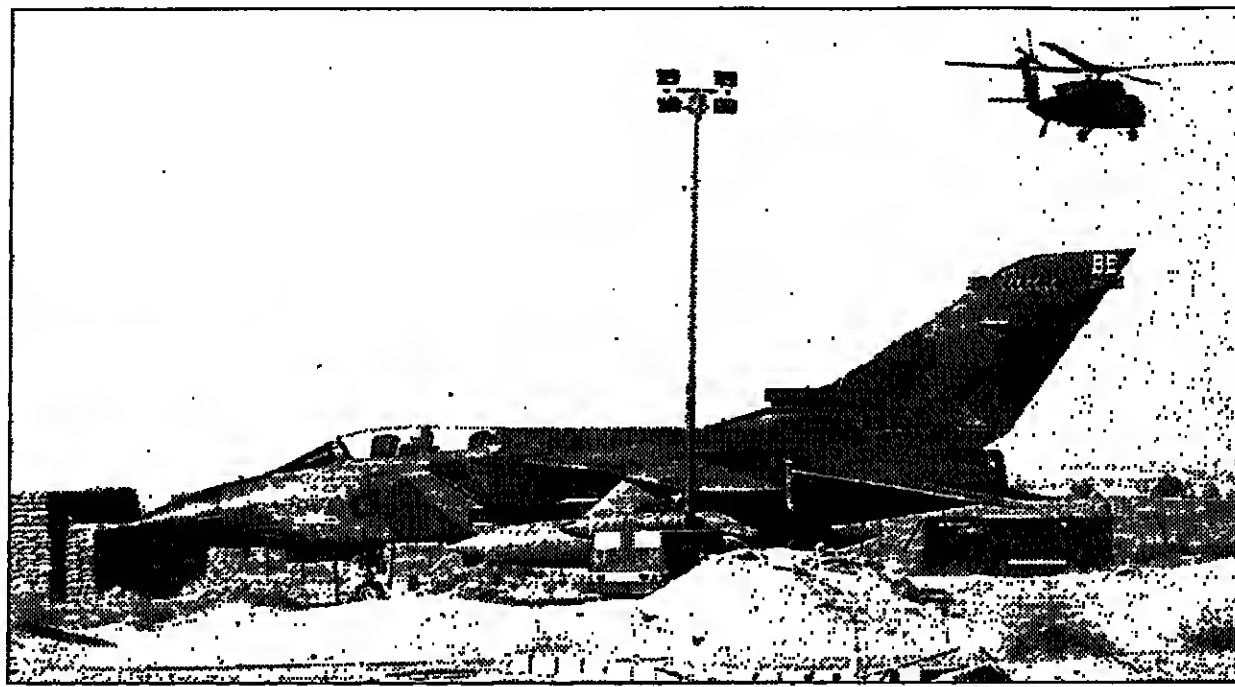
The criticism bore a familiar ring and reflected a deep, expressed across the political spectrum, at the go-it-alone approach of the United States and Britain. Russia has suffered a painful erosion of its international prestige since the Soviet collapse, and the latest action against its historic ally in Baghdad once again underscored Moscow's weakness.

President Boris Yeltsin said in a written statement that the bombing evoked "a feeling of indignation and profound alarm," that it "grossly violated" the United Nations charter, and that it "caused serious damage" to the previous work of the UN weapons inspectors.

Mr. Yeltsin was later shown on television awkwardly standing around a map of Iraq on a table in his Kremlin office, and saying the attack was "simply unacceptable for us."

The highest fallout may be yet another postponement of a vote on the START-2 treaty, which was signed in 1993 but has yet to be ratified by Russia. Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov has been lobbying the Duma vigorously for its passage on grounds that it would benefit Russia to cut the large U.S. advantage in strategic weapons. For the first time in years, a vote seemed imminent in recent weeks, and some leading Communists said they would support it.

But after the bombing, others called for a delay. Sergei Prikhodko, a deputy head of the Kremlin administration, said that "one may well give up on" ratification.



An American helicopter and a British Tornado bomber at the Ali Salem air base in Kuwait on Thursday.

IRAQ: 'Right Thing to Do,' Clinton Calls Decision as 2d Wave Hits

Continued from Page 1

He also said several industrial targets had been hit, including a plant that makes brake fluid for cars, one that produces batteries, and a training center for mechanics. He said all were under the UN monitoring regime, and all had passed earlier inspections.

The news of the air strikes added a stunning dimension to the impeachment drama already gripping Washington, and brought furious criticism of Mr. Clinton from some congressional Republicans.

In a striking departure from the rule that politics stops at the water's edge, the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott of Mississippi, said shortly before the attacks were launched that he could not support them. "Both the timing and the policy are open to question," he said. On Thursday, he expressed his support for U.S. troops in the Gulf.

Americans strongly supported the military action, according to polls by CBS and ABC. In the CBS poll, about 80 percent said they favored the strike. According to the ABC survey, 62 percent said attacking Iraq was the right thing to do.

The U.S. and British strikes were expected to continue at least into the weekend.

Mrs. Albright said that American officials were "sensitive to the beginnings of Ramadan," the Muslim holy month, which starts this weekend, but that the campaign would "continue to its completion."

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Blair said President Saddam Hussein's failure to cooperate with UN inspectors had made the confrontation inevitable. Mr. Clinton said the attacks were timed to "have maximum impact with minimum risk in our own people."

Some legislators said the attacks could succeed only if they forced Mr. Saddam from power. But Mr. Cohen denied that Mr. Saddam had been personally targeted.

Mr. Cohen said there had been no American casualties. Nor were any British casualties reported.

The surprise attacks on Iraqi targets evidently destroyed large numbers of surface-to-air missiles before they could

be moved, reducing the danger to allied pilots.

Mr. Cohen, who spoke even as the second wave of attacks was under way, said that satellite and U-2 spy plane photographs showed that the first wave of strikes had inflicted "severe" damage.

The targets included some of Mr. Saddam's 80 or so presidential palaces in different parts of the country.

General Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said 50 targets were hit in the first wave of attacks. He showed reporters an aerial photo in which a building he said was the military intelligence headquarters had been reduced to rubble.

Some critics of the attack said it was unclear what the U.S.-British strategy would be once the smoke has cleared. Mr. Blair said that if Mr. Saddam "will not see reason," then Britain and the United States would assure that he could not rebuild his military capability.

U.S. Navy ships launched more than

200 guided Tomahawk cruise missiles, and navy EA-6B fighter jets fired HARM missiles at Iraqi radar installations.

Follow-up attacks will involve up to 300 cruise missiles, Pentagon officials told The Associated Press.

Some 2,000 U.S. Army troops and 35 aircraft were en route to the Gulf region on Thursday, Mr. Cohen said. The troops are bound for Kuwait, where they will join 3,000 U.S. soldiers already in place.

"This is a long-term effort," Mr. Cohen said. "It's not going to happen overnight."

Former President Jimmy Carter, who had previously opposed military strikes on Iraq, defended Mr. Clinton.

"The allegations by some members of Congress that the president of the United States and his security advisers would launch an attack on Iraq for political purposes are both unjustified and ill-advised," Mr. Carter said in a statement.

Tomahawk Cruise Missile

The Navy's Tomahawk cruise missile is a "smart" weapon because it is a "precision" weapon. It is provided with a highly accurate, difficult-to-detect weapon that could be launched from air, land or sea, miles away from the target. The 1991 Gulf War marked the first time the missiles were used in combat.

CHARACTERISTICS

- Service: U.S. Navy
- Contractor: Hughes Aircraft Co.
- Cost per unit: \$750,000
- Length: 18 feet, 3 inches
- Weight: 2,630 pounds
- Speed: 550 mph
- Warhead: 1,000 pounds

How it works

The missile is launched from a ship or a submarine. After launch, a solid propellant engine takes over for the cruise portion of flight. It has a guidance system with components that make course corrections for pinpoint accuracy. To determine the missile's location, one component compares terrain with satellite photographs of Earth stored in on-board computers. Another component receives data from satellites that provide guidance.

CLINTON: New Clash on Impeachment

Continued from Page 1

support and unity of purpose," he said.

During an earlier appearance with fellow Democrats, he denounced the idea of proceeding with impeachment now. "That is wrong!" he shouted. "That is wrong! That is wrong! That is wrong!"

The White House reserved judgment on the new scheduling plans, saying that it was up to lawmakers to decide. Because neither side wants to hold an impeachment debate in just an hour, though, they were hoping to find some accommodation before the House resumes Friday morning.

With the impeachment debate off the table for the day, the House briefly put aside its partisan skirmishing to approve on a 417-to-5 vote a resolution expressing support for troops in the Gulf.

Voting against were Representatives Ron Paul, Republican of Texas; John Conyers, Democrat of Michigan; Mark Sanford, Republican of South Carolina; Barbara Lee, Democrat of California; and Cynthia McKinney, Democrat of Georgia. Representative Elizabeth Furse, Democrat of Oregon, voted "present."

The outgoing speaker, Representative Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia, spoke out strongly in favor of the strike against Iraq, diverging sharply from the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi, the House majority leader, Richard Armitage, Republican of Texas, and other Republicans who raised suspicions about the timing of the bombing on the eve of impeachment.

"We have a chance to say today to the world: No matter what our constitutional process, whether it is an election eve or it is the eve of a constitutional vote, no matter what our debates at home, we are, as a nation, prepared to lead the world," Mr. Gingrich said on the House floor.

For his part, Mr. Clinton partly dismissed the criticism from Mr. Lott and others, calling his decision on Iraq "the right thing for the country" and denying on Thursday that he would ever order military action to help shore up his crumbling domestic position.

"I don't think any serious person would believe that any president would do such a thing," he said before an Oval Office meeting with Defense Secretary William Cohen, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry Shelton, and other advisers.

"I don't believe any reasonably astute person in Washington would believe that Secretary Cohen and General Shelton and the whole rest of the national security team would participate in such an action," the president continued.

The decision to defer the impeachment vote by a day may only postpone the inevitable.

So few undecided members were left that White House strategists could figure no plausible way to forestall impeachment and the Senate trial to follow.

"It's fair to say it's over," said a White House adviser. "It's an illegitimate partisan vote and we'll win it in the Senate."

The sudden eruption of war with Iraq touched off a fierce debate at a closed-door caucus meeting of House Republicans on Wednesday evening at which dozens of members stood up to talk about what they should do about impeachment.

Underlying the discussion was a strategic concern over whether a delay would alter the political equation that has turned so drastically against Mr. Clinton in recent days.

CLINTON: New Clash on Impeachment

The cynicism about his motives was palpable, particularly given that the House that takes office next month will have five more Democrats than the present one.

"Some members felt that the president's goal or intent was to get beyond Jan. 6 and force another impeachment resolution," said Representative David Joseph Weldon, Republican of Florida, who supports impeachment. "Others felt that the national mood or momentum had been moving toward impeachment, and if we did not move tomorrow, that momentum would be lost."

The House had planned to convene 10 A.M. Thursday to begin considering four articles of impeachment alleging that Mr. Clinton committed perjury, obstructed justice and abused his power in concealing his affair with Monica Lewinsky in civil and criminal proceedings.

If the House approves any of the articles on a majority vote, it would send the matter to the Senate for a trial, with a two-thirds vote required to convict and remove Mr. Clinton from office.

The Senate majority leader, meanwhile, ruled out a deal short of a Senate trial, such as censure.

"We will go to a trial and there won't be any deal-making," Mr. Lott said in an interview with CNN.

BAGHDAD: Life Goes On in City

Continued from Page 1

city, seemingly oblivious to the fact that another round of strikes was planned for their honeymoon night. Air raid sirens howled several times during the day.

Until the start of the second raids Thursday, damage to the city had been light. None of the major landmarks, government buildings or communications towers in the center of town had sustained any obvious damage, and there had been none of the destruction to electricity, roads and other public works that characterized the first days of the Gulf War.

Public fountains kept running, public school and work hours remained unchanged, and the sculptured flag at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier remained lit.

Iraqi officials are refusing to discuss casualty numbers from the bombing campaign, which began early Thursday in response to what the U.S. and Britain say was Iraq's refusal to cooperate with United Nations weapons inspectors.

Little information has been available here about possible damage in southern Iraq or outside of Baghdad, and after the first bombing in Baghdad government officials overseeing the press had little more dramatic to show than a giant hole in Karada Street, and, at a second site, an house whose windows were blown out and whose doors had been damaged by an explosion of some sort.

Neither damage scene seemed compatible with the force of a cruise missile, but residents along Karada Street and the owner of the house at the other site said that bombs of some sort definitely detonated in their neighborhoods.

"What did I do to America?" asked Jassim Zuweybi, lying in a bed at a monk hospital in western Baghdad, his head bandaged from injuries in the explosion at his home. The incident seriously injured one of his four children, and Mr. Zuweybi said he was at a loss to explain why this was happening.

"During eight years we have given everything to Unscam," he said, referring to the UN Special Commission charged with monitoring Iraq's disarmament. Its issuance this week of a report critical of the Baghdad government triggered the air strike.

"Ask Saddam Hussein to take revenge for me," Mr. Zuweybi said. "I hate the government of the United States."

Iraqi officials reported late Thursday afternoon that the air strike had destroyed a rice warehouse in Mr. Saddam's home city of Tikrit and that a missile targeted at the southern city of Basra had strayed and exploded on Iranian soil.

At a news conference Thursday night, Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Sahhaf echoed the sentiments of the wounded man, contending that the U.S. response was far out of proportion to the problems that had developed between Iraq and the weapons inspection team.

In the commission's report to the Security Council, the chief arms inspector, Richard Butler, concluded that by refusing access to buildings like the headquarters of the ruling Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party, Iraq was keeping the commission from finishing the job it was delegated at the end of the Gulf War: to oversee the dismantling of Iraq's chemical, nuclear and biological weapon programs.

OPINION/LETTERS

Impeachment Charade Defies Majority's Will

By Gloria Steinem

NEW YORK — It is time to register outrage and principled opposition to the impeachment charade now going on in Washington. Yet few protests are receiving much media attention.

For example, on Sept. 24 in Washington, the leaders of major women's groups such as the National Organization for Women and the National Council of Negro Women — plus social justice groups like the United Farm Workers and the Asian-Pacific Legal Consortium — came together in a historic coalition to oppose President Bill Clinton's resignation or impeachment.

Mr. Clinton's "misdeeds are not of the nature of high crimes and misdemeanors," the groups said. "As feminist leaders, we will not stand idly by while a Congress made up of nearly 90 percent men attempts to remove the first president elected by women voters." They also noted that a 90 percent white Congress would be impeaching a president supported by more than 90 percent of African-American voters.

The press mostly ignored the press conference. Instead, media pundits repeated the right-wing line that feminists did not support Paula Jones — though we always supported her access to the courts, despite the borderline nature of her case of sexual harassment.

What the media does report is a very hypocritical word in the unrepresentative House Judiciary Committee, plus opinions from talking heads neatly divided into those for and against impeachment. This is supposed to serve objectivity. In fact, it only gives the false impression that public opinion is equally divided.

We know it is not. The huge majority of Americans opposes Mr. Clinton's impeachment. The press attributes even that irrefutable result of public opinion polls to some notion of economic comfort, as if Mr. Clinton were being supported only out of the selfishness created by a good economy.

In fact, those who support Mr. Clinton are the most who benefit from this economy the least. Opposition to impeachment exists because people around America are smart enough to know that "Impeach Clinton" and even "Impeach Hillary" bumper stickers have been sold by right-

wing groups ever since the Clintons entered the White House.

People are smart enough to figure out that members of Congress voting for impeachment have a suspiciously high correlation to those supported by lobbies such as the tobacco industry, the American Rifle Association and anti-abortion organizations — all sworn enemies of Mr. Clinton and his policies.

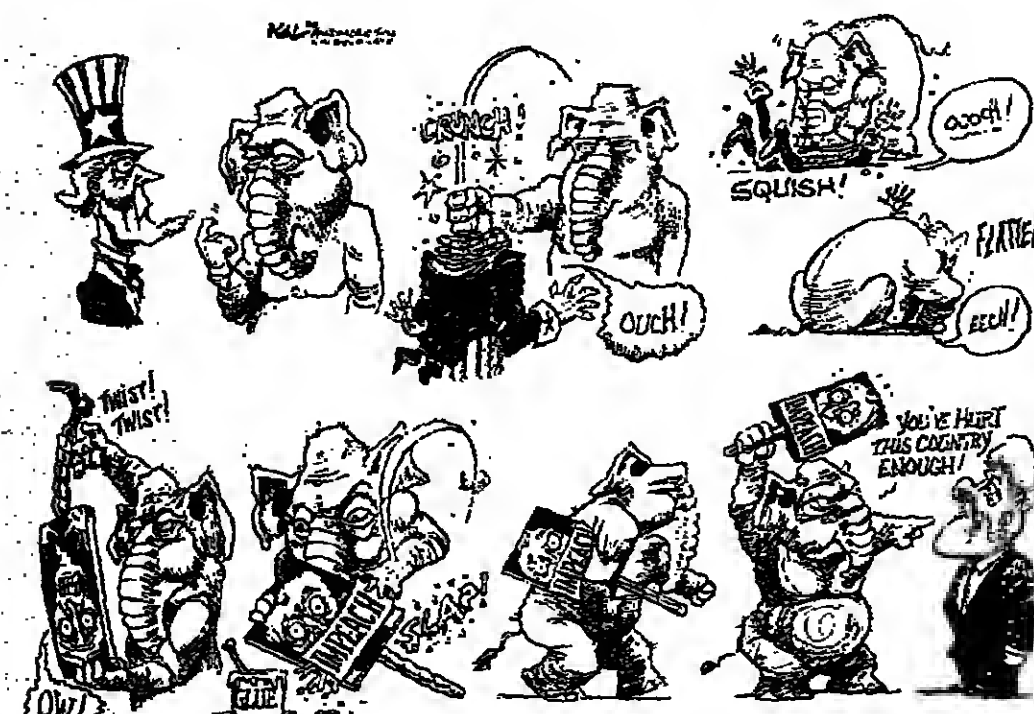
Do I agree with all of Mr. Clinton's policies? Of course not. I'll never forgive him for signing the welfare bill. But I also know that he has stood for equal economic and human rights far more than his Republican opponents — and I know which interest groups are angered by Mr. Clinton's policies.

I also know that even if President Ronald Reagan or President George Bush had been guilty of the same sexual misjudgment — and then tried to conceal it — I would not have supported their impeachment. Indeed, when the right-wing Representative Bob Bennett of Maryland, was accused of a sexual episode with a young man, the only question I and other feminists asked was: Was this welcome sex or not? Because if it was welcome, then it was not sexual harassment. And it was not our business.

My fear is that the right wing is distorting and defeating sexual harassment law in much the same way that they have tried to distort and defeat affirmative action law. Remember, these are the same people who opposed sexual harassment law in the first place. Phyllis Schlafly testified in Congress against it and insisted that if women just dressed and behaved like ladies, they would not be harassed. But now, the right wing is trying to use its version of the law to peacefully assassinate a president. In the process, they have convinced more than 60 percent of Americans that sexual harassment law has gone too far, that it forbids all sex in the workplace, all sex between unequals, even all sex outside of marriage — none of which it does or should do.

In fact, sexual harassment law has nothing to do with welcome sex. The use of the word "welcome" is an innovation of this law. "Consent" can be coerced. "Welcomeness" cannot.

Mr. Clinton should not have had to testify about Monica Lewinsky. The enjoyment of mutually wel-



come sex does not constitute a "pattern and practice" of unwelcome sex. Unequal status may be suspicious, but it is not dispositive, as lawyers say. We are not the sex police. Any idea that this law allows such policing will only defeat a good and much-needed code.

We should also call for an end to the humiliation of Ms. Lewinsky. This young woman broke no law, yet found herself surrounded by FBI agents and denied access to her own lawyer. She has been forced to reveal the most intimate details of her private life — under threat of her own imprisonment, and even the imprisonment of her mother.

We owe it to her and ourselves to protest against the jokes, humiliation and ridicule she has suffered. She has the right to privacy, sexual expression and legal

protection — and if she does not, neither do we.

We should also admit that we may be projecting our own experience. For example, I have two women friends who were sexually abused by their fathers. They have a hard time believing that Ms. Lewinsky could have done what she did voluntarily. I know another woman who was done in by a faithless husband. Mr. Clinton's example hits a bruise, and she reacts with pain and anger. I have had neither experience, and so can believe that Ms. Lewinsky acted voluntarily.

It is clear that many people in the media hate Mr. Clinton, even though they agree with him on issues more than I do. It drives them crazy that Mr. Clinton has won the most powerful position in the world without the proper

"masculine" behavior.

For example, his origins were lower-class; he married a wife who was at least his equal; he refused to go to war, and he actually listens. In other words, Mr. Clinton refused to play the usual male game — and won anyway.

But none of these personal reasons can justify impeachment.

Mr. Clinton's behavior — self-defeating and reckless as it was — does not constitute "treason or other high crimes and misdemeanors." If he is impeached, any partisan majority will be able to impeach any president. Is that what we want?

The author is editor and founder of Ms. magazine. This column was distributed by The New York Times Syndicate.

In Good Times or Bad, The Dice Must Roll On

By David Spanier

LONDON — All the world's a casino and every one is a player. Or so it seems these days.

I have been gambling in Moscow, where it takes more courage to walk out of a dubious dive with your winnings than to venture through the doorway. Among the high rollers in London, I have been pampered by periwigged footmen bearing caviar and champagne. And my first resolution for the New Year is to play at Bellagio, the latest wonder on the Las Vegas Strip.

Christmas in a casino? No problem. Once taboo, gambling resons have become family destinations for the holidays.

Everyone can gamble to their heart's content. And if they cannot get to a casino or a lonesome terminal, electronic gambling, outside the jurisdiction of any regulatory authority, is available on the Internet.

The pro-gambling forces in the United States have recently scored a great victory at the ballot box.

MEANWHILE

when opponents of gambling were routed across the country. New opportunities to play the lottery and slot machines are on the way. The same momentum holds true across Europe. In Britain, the lottery is the most successful commercial enterprise since Sir Walter Raleigh brought tobacco to the court of Queen Elizabeth I, with 30 million people buying tickets every week.

What is going on? Why the worldwide fever to gamble? The answer is that people have always liked to gamble. Even in prehistoric graves, some of the dice were found to be loaded. But in previous times, the desire to gamble, which has flared up in most societies, has usually been suppressed, by church or state.

In the Middle Ages gambling was regarded as a sin against the laws of God. A century ago, gambling was seen as a vice, a social crime like prostitution.

But now anything goes. It is simply part of the leisure industry. There are obvious dangers — and not just for the unfortunate compulsive gambler. For casinos, there may soon be too much gambling for all the competing interests to survive. The recent battle between the Indian casinos in California, wanting to move into slot machines, and the

Nevada gaming industry trying to stop them, was probably the most expensive campaign in American history. Costing over \$100 million, it was on a par with the two main candidates' expenditure in the last presidential election.

Las Vegas lost this one, but the resort is always one step ahead. The casinos have discovered that they can make as much money, if not more, from other attractions like theme parks and rides.

Win some, lose some. The Asian crisis has hit the high end of the market, especially London's casinos. The Asian high rollers are staying away. But no one doubts that when the good times roll again, the gamblers will return.

On the gamblers' side, how to control the current gambling fever? A major debate has now begun in America in the form of the National Gambling Impact Commission. Insitigated two years ago by Reverend Tom Grey, an evangelical foe of gambling, Mr. Grey talks a good game. But he knows he does not have a prayer against the massed forces of Nevada, led by the former Republican fundraiser Frank Fahrenkopf.

The most the commission will do, observers believe, is to put forward a series of mild recommendations, which Congress can then mull over at leisure. One of these proposals could be to provide help to gamblers who have a "problem," which is the polite term used for compulsive gambling.

The American casino industry realizes it had better get moving, by funding research and treatment for problem gamblers. The consequences of doing nothing is demonstrated by what happened to the tobacco industry. Fines, lost markets, pariah status.

Across Europe, governments see casino gambling as a way of attracting foreign currency and stimulating growth. Well, most of them do. Turkey recently closed its casinos on moral grounds. And gambling is strictly forbidden in Israel. But gamblers are now being lured from the Promised Land to a casino in Jericho in the Palestinian Authority. These days, there is always somewhere new to win (or lose) your money.

The writer, a journalist in London, contributed this column to the International Herald Tribune.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mysterious Ads?

Mysterious and disturbing advertisements have recently appeared in your paper. They consist of seemingly innocent quotes from the Old and New Testaments. What could be more uplifting in this holiday season? But what an interesting selection of passages: The Hebrews worshipping the golden bull; Jesus chasing money-changers from the temple; the selfishness and hypocrisy of the Pharisees. There is no explanation given; no commentary on the quotations. Whether these ads are as

well-meaning as they seem, or actually more insidious, is debatable. What is clear, though, is that they subtly forward an anti-Semitic agenda by reminding readers of the stereotypes that Jews are greedy, focused on gold and self-serving.

LANE AYRE
Warsaw

Lawyers at Risk

In response to "Lawyers in First Smoking Settlement Win \$8.2 Billion in Fees" (Dec. 14):

The article stated that the courts deemed the sums justified because

of the "risk" the lawyers had taken. Police officers, firefighters, teachers and nurses run risks. All these now very rich attorneys did was make an investment.

TONY DAJER
Paris

Kenneth Starr's Crisis

It is Kenneth Starr and not Mr. Clinton who should be in crisis. Mr. Starr and his staff violated the privacy of an individual and his freedoms.

WILLIAM J. CASSAN
Mnnpellier, France

BOOKS

A RAGE TO LIVE

A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton
By Mary S. Lovell. 910 pages.
\$39.95. Norton.

Reviewed by Dennis Drabell

TO the public he was a bluff explorer of Africa; a naughty translator of "The Thousand and One Nights," a dazzling linguist, an unblinkingly honest travel writer and the first Christian to penetrate Mecca on the same footing as an ordinary Muslim pilgrim.

But to many of his peers in British diplomacy he was a pugnacious and arrogant wastrel, always forsaking his post to wander around the country in which he happened to be Her Majesty's representative, sticking his nose into places — a boy, brothel, for one — whose existence no decent Englishman would even acknowledge.

His wife, meanwhile, is remembered mostly as the blue-eyed who consigned his manuscripts to flames after his death.

In her impressive dual biography, Mary Lovell takes aim at this conventional portrait of Richard Burton (1821-1890) and his wife, the former Isabel Arundell (1831-1896). Judged by the book, Lovell is a great explorer herself — of archives. She has gained access to material overlooked by all previous biographers (and there have been many). As inasmuch as the Burtons had a decided talent for making enemies, many of whom wrote and blabbed about them after they were gone, Lovell sets the record straight time and again.

One of the author's accomplishments — refurbishing Isabel's reputation — may have surprised even her. In a biography of the adventuress Jane Digby, Lovell cast some aspersions on Isabel.

Having sifted through the evidence more carefully, she now finds much to admire in this daughter of an old, wealthy and extremely well-connected Catholic family, who, smitten by Richard at first sight, never wavered in the face of her mother's determined opposition to the marriage. (His family, upper middle class, came down almost as hard on the proposal.)

Isabel, however, turned out to be Richard's mainstay. Not only did she love him without stint and put up with his absences for years at a stretch, but she organized his papers, dealt aggressively with his finagling publishers, and marshaled kin and contacts to advance his cause. She became a skilled writer herself, with a special knack for polemics, and among Victorian unions the Burtons' was uncommonly equal. This was a couple who fenced together unlovingly made them put up their rapier.

The source of Richard's knack for setting people against him was threefold: his pronounced gifts as an athlete, a writer, a leader of men, a learner of languages; his insistence not only on satisfying his curiosity about sex in all its permutations, but also in sharing what he discovered with his fellow Victorians, and his inability to suffer fools quietly. Among many examples of his arrogance, Lovell cites Burton's publication of letters in which he had warned his superiors that local resentment of British presence in and around the Red Sea might lead to disaster, along with "details of the subsequent massacre (1858) . . . in which every Christian in (Jeddah), including the British Consul, was murdered. Some highly placed men in the Indian government (which had jurisdiction over Jeddah) were made to look fools; which was Richard's intention, of course. He never seemed to learn that it was not possible to publicly bait his superiors without mak-

ing enemies of them." At least Richard told the truth, though many of his detractors, as Lovell makes clear, lied blatantly in order to bring him down.

Which they never quite did. He failed to get the promotions he deserved or the Eastern posts he was most suited for. But he enjoyed a long sabbatical as consul in Trieste, where he had time for travel, writing and the translating on which his literary reputation mainly rests.

A set-piece of any book on Richard Burton is the tragic episode of his relations with John Speke, his cohort on an early expedition to trace the Nile to its source. Here Lovell has unearthed no startling new material, but her portrait of Speke is compelling just the same.

As for Isabel, Lovell refutes those who have claimed she engaged in an orgy of burning after Richard died. Aside from some personal papers that she had every right to destroy, the main item she got rid of was Burton's translation of "The Perfumed Garden," an erotic manuscript. Isabel's reasoning may not have been ridiculous — she claimed that even though Richard would have published the translation had he lived, without him to defend it against charges of lewdness it would only have done him a disservice — but one still finds it hard to forgive her for denying posterity a work on which her husband had labored for years.

Mary Lovell is not a graceful writer. How she could have published four biographies before this one and still not know the difference between "info" and "simply" is a puzzle. But she is a good storyteller, and her mastery of so much new research makes this the best book about the Burtons yet.

Dennis Drabell, a Washington writer and editor, wrote this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

PLAYERS of the highest class usually win major titles before they are 30, and sometimes before they are 20. One of the few to hit the headlines later in life is Rita Shugart of Pebble Beach, California, who became a life master two decades ago but then devoted herself primarily to her family.

She returned to the game seriously in 1991, and began a successful partnership four years ago with an English star, Andrew Robson. She recently won her first national title, the Reisinger Board-a-Match Teams. The other team members were Tony Forrester of England and Geir Helgemo of Norway.

Routine defense would have permitted South to make a doubled contract on the

diagramed deal from the Reisinger semifinal, but Shugart did not defend routinely. She held the East hand, and opened one club with a hand on which many would prefer one diamond. Her partner, Robson, eventually doubled

NORTH
♠ K7652
♥ 10863
♦ K3
♣ 75

EAST (D)
♠ 105
♥ —
♦ AQJ92
♣ AA209632

SOUTH
♠ A9
♥ AQ975
♦ 764
♣ K01

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:
East 1♣ — 1NT — 2♥
South 3♦ — 3NT — 4♣
West — — — — —
North — — — — —
Deal

three hearts, a close action which he might not have taken at imp scoring.

The club eight was led to the ace and the two was returned. South won and led his remaining club winner, which was ruffed low by Robson. West, and overruffed by dummy. South cashed the ace and king of spades, ruffed a spade and led a diamond to the king. East took her ace and cashed the queen, leaving this ending shown at left.

At this point, a routine return of the diamond jack would allow South to succeed. He would ruff in dummy, ruff a spade, and lead the heart queen — better than the one — from his hand.

This would endplay West, but Shugart did not allow South the opportunity. She led a club, giving South a ruff-and-shut that he did not need while permitting Robson to score

both potential trump tricks.

Beating the contract won the board for the Shugart team. In the replay Forrester and Helgemo defeated three diamonds doubled by one trick. That was hair-raising: the defense prevails, but only just, after starting with the spade ace, a spade to the king, and a third spade.

NORTH
♠ 76
♥ 1086
♦ —
♣ —

WEST
♠ Q
♥ KJ4
♦ 10
♣ —

EAST
♠ —
♥ J92
♦ —
♣ 96

SOUTH
♠ —
♥ AQ97
♦ 7
♣ —

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EUROPE

Tax-Free \$2 Million Gift Buys Irish a Political Scandal

By James F. Clarity
New York Times Service

DUBLIN — A scandal has emerged in Ireland over assertions of corruption and nepotism at the highest level of government.

National debate began after the disclosure of an official ruling that a former prime minister, Charles Haughey, owed no taxes on a \$2 million gift from a businessman and that the decision was made by a brother-in-law of the present prime minister, Bertie Ahern, whose political career was fostered by Mr. Haughey.

In the Parliament on Wednesday, members of the opposition party

Fine Gael accused the Fianna Fail party of Mr. Ahern and Mr. Haughey with corruption and nepotism. Opposition members said that a tribunal stated unequivocally last spring that the \$2 million was taxable as a gift.

"This is incredible," said the Labour Party leader, Ruairi Quinn. Another member shouted "This is corruption!" as the speaker, Seamus Pattison, tried to gavel the house to order.

Mr. Ahern, under a fusillade of hostile questioning, denied any involvement in the case, adding: "He is my brother-in-law, but I had no knowledge about this until I read about it in this morning's news-

papers." Opposition members said that Ronan Kelly, the tax official who made the ruling, was appointed by Mr. Ahern when the prime minister was finance minister several years ago.

Nora Owen, a former justice minister and a member of Fine Gael, the largest opposition party, said: "The public are outraged by what they read in the newspapers." She called for an investigation of how the decision was made and demanded to know whether Mr. Ahern would order revenue officials to appeal the decision in court.

The investigation is an embarrassment for Fianna Fail, but it was barely noticed until Wednesday.

Most, but by no means all, of the people interviewed on Irish national radio and television in Dublin, Cork and other areas said Mr. Haughey should pay the tax or be sent to prison.

Mr. Haughey's supporters say that as prime minister in the 1980s he cut excessive state spending and debt, telling people to tighten their belts.

They noted that the economy improved steadily under him and that he eliminated income taxes for writers and artists and increased the number of old people who received free public transportation passes.

His opponents say it is now clear that he was not tightening his own belt at the time. He owns two large

estates, a yacht and several thoroughbred race horses.

Prime minister for nine years, Mr. Haughey, 73, was already under investigation for accepting the \$2 million from Ben Dunne, a former chief executive of the country's largest department store, which bears the family name.

Mr. Haughey acknowledged that he had taken the \$2 million, but added that he gave no favors for the money. He has not been charged with any crime. But the investigation already under way is expected to answer the question on many minds: How did a man who spent his entire life in politics, at modest salaries, become a man of ostensible wealth?

Parliament Shows Anger At EU Panel

Strasbourg — The European Commission, the executive agency of the European Union, faced the prospect of being dismissed on Thursday after the European Parliament said it had mismanaged the 15-nation bloc's finances.

The European Parliament rejected the commission's handling of the 1996 budget on Wednesday amid allegations of fraud and mismanagement.

The rejection led to calls for a censure of the commission as it enters its last year under the presidency of Jacques Santer. The commission had said that a rebuke from the Parliament would leave it "seriously undermined."

The Parliament's majority Socialist group announced the motion of censure, which it said was necessary to establish whether the assembly still had confidence in the 20-member executive, whose term is not due to expire until the end of 1999.

"The one thing we are not prepared to tolerate given the work on hand over the next three months is that we are confronted with a lame-duck commission," said the Socialist leader, Pauline Green. "Either they have confidence or they do not and they leave."

There have been several previous attempts to censure the commission, but none have succeeded. For the



Pauline Green of Britain, leader of the European Parliament's Socialist group, speaking Friday in the Strasbourg assembly on a motion of censure introduced against the European Commission.

commission to be dismissed, a censure motion would have to be carried by a two-thirds majority of votes cast in the 626-member assembly.

Wednesday's vote on the EU's 1996 budget would normally have been a procedural affair. But deputies, alarmed at a string of reports of taxpayers' money being mismanaged, notably in the humanitarian aid budget, wanted to use the occasion to slap the commission on the wrist.

The vote came amid a wider debate among the 15 EU nations about financing the bloc's \$100 billion budget. Germany wants to reduce its

payments, while Britain is under pressure to review its £2.1 billion (\$3.5 billion) annual rebate as part of the negotiations on future EU funding. France is concerned that it may be called on to reform its agricultural policy, while other nations will be less affected by reforms.

The debate is part of the Agenda 2000 discussions on reform of the financing and institutions of the EU as it prepares to take in the countries of Eastern Europe.

A credible commission that enjoys the support of the European Parliament is crucially important in

view of the Agenda 2000 negotiations, which should result in a political agreement in March next year, the commission said.

Of the 518 European lawmakers that voted, 270 rejected the commission's handling of the 1996 budget, while 225 endorsed it.

"It's very clear the vote was a loss for the commission," the budget commissioner, Erkki Liikanen, said in Strasbourg. But, he added, the Parliament "has not asked the commission to resign, and the commission has no intention of resigning." (Reuters, Bloomberg, AP)

New Fighting In Kosovo Is Reported

Prishtina, Serbia — Fighting was reported in several villages in Kosovo on Thursday, with at least two guerrillas killed in the latest test of the province's cease-fire, Serbian and international sources said.

The Serbian-run Media Center said that the police had killed the ethnic Albanian guerrillas in Glodjane, near Decani in western Kosovo, on Thursday morning.

International observers reported that they had heard gunfire and mortar fire in the same region and said it was apparent that Serbian police officers were trying to root out Kosovo Liberation Army guerrillas.

The Media Center said the police had been looking for men accused of being involved in the fatal shooting of six Serbian youths in a bar in the western town of Pec this week.

About 1,500 people have been killed and 250,000 left homeless in the fighting this year between Yugoslav forces and the separatist guerrillas in the southern Serbian province. It has a 90 percent ethnic Albanian population.

A fragile two-month-old cease-fire has been tested several times this week.

In Belgrade, meanwhile, the Serbian information minister, Alexander Vucic, announced an imminent government crackdown on Albanian-language media in Kosovo, the Tanjug news agency reported. (Reuters, AP)

Suspect in 1982 IRA Bombing In Hyde Park Wins Appeal

LONDON — A man convicted of a deadly 1982 IRA bombing in London's Hyde Park had his conviction quashed Thursday, a month after he was paroled early from prison under terms of the Belfast peace accord.

Danny McNamee, 38, had proclaimed his innocence ever since he received a 25-year sentence for the blast, which killed four members of the British Army's Household Cavalry and seven horses.

Prosecutors relied heavily on traces of Mr. McNamee's fingerprints found on remnants of the bomb and two other arms caches to convict him in 1987.

But three Court of Appeal judges accepted that it might have made a difference had jurors been told that many more prints from a known Irish Republican Army bomb-maker were on the debris, too. (AP)

Bonn Nuclear Curb Reported

FRANKFURT — Chancellor Gerhard Schröder has agreed with chief executives of German utility firms on a plan to phase out nuclear energy, Der Spiegel magazine reported Thursday.

The report, which gave no sources, followed a dispute between Mr. Schröder and his Green coalition partners this week. The ecologists accused him of casting doubt on the coalition's plans to eliminate nuclear power.

The plan was a major plank in the election platform of the Greens, who formed a coalition with Mr. Schröder's Social Democrats after elections in September.

Der Spiegel said that according to the plan, 19 German nuclear power stations will be closed within 20 years.

Government officials were not available for comment. (Reuters)

EU Opens Talks on Fishing

BRUSSELS — European Union fisheries ministers opened negotiations Thursday to set catch quotas for next year, trying to find a balance between the demands of the fishermen and the need to protect dwindling stocks.

Proposals from the EU's Commission for sizable cuts in the quotas diverge greatly from demands for increases from major fishing nations. The differences led to an almost immediate suspension of the full meeting to allow for a series of bilateral sessions.

EU officials said the ministers were far from agreement as they assessed about 100 separate quotas for various types of fish in waters around Europe. (AP)

Changes Pledged in Turkey

ANKARA — Turkey's Islamist leader vowed Thursday to introduce constitutional change if his party won coming elections, a pledge likely to escalate wrangling with the country's secularists.

Turkey's influential armed forces have led a secularist campaign against Islamist activism. "Rearrangement of the constitution is on the agenda of the Virtue Party," Recat Kutun, the organization's leader, said at a news conference to mark the first anniversary of his party.

Turkey is scheduled to hold general elections in April, and the Islamists are expected to do well. (Reuters)

William Gaddis, Novelist, Dies at 75

By Mel Gussow
New York Times Service

William Gaddis, 75, author of "The Recognitions" and "JR," and a novelist of immense range, complexity and satiric humor, died of prostate cancer Wednesday in East Hampton, New York.

Mr. Gaddis was one of the most innovative and demanding of writers. His four published novels stand tall and totemic in the field of modernist literature. For "The Recognitions," his first novel, in 1955, he was compared to James Joyce. With other books, critics drew parallels with Malcolm Lowry and Herman Melville. Aspects of all three

and others figured in his work, but most of all he was, in Cynthia Ozick's words, "an American original."

Reviewing Mr. Gaddis's 1985 novel, "Carpenter's Gothic," in The New York Times Book Review, Ms. Ozick looked back on "The Recognitions" as "the most overlooked important work of the last several literary generations."

It was, she said, "a vast fiction about fabrication and forgery, about the thousand faces of the counterfeit, and therefore, ineluctably, about art and religion."

In her judgment, "Carpenter's Gothic" marked a turning point in Mr. Gaddis's career; admirers hoped that it would bring him a wider audience.

Despite rapturous reviews and a covey of awards (including two National Book Awards and a MacArthur "genius" grant), he was not destined to have a popular readership. He was often considered one of the least read of important American writers. But his books have become contemporary classics.

As his reputation grew, he was surrounded by academics seeking symbols and offering deep analyses of his work. He maintained his equilibrium, saying, "What can I do if people insist I'm cleverer than I think I am?"

Observing Mr. Gaddis at a writers' conference in the Soviet Union in 1985, Louis Auchincloss said that he was "reserved and quiet, impeccably clad, with the patient composure of a man of the world and the piercing eye of a wit," and that he spoke "in measured tones of the small sales that the serious novelist might expect."

Mr. Gaddis grew up in Massapequa, New York, and went to boarding school in Connecticut and Farmingdale High School on Long Island. He studied English literature at Harvard University, and wrote stories, poems, essays and reviews for the Harvard Lampoon. In his senior year, he was asked to resign from the

'The Recognitions' and his three other works made him 'an American original.'

college after he and a friend were involved in an altercation with the police.

In New York, he worked as a fact checker at The New Yorker, and spent his free time in Greenwich Village with Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac and other writers of the Beat Generation. Leaving New York, he traveled through Mexico and Central America, joining insurgents in Costa Rica during a brief civil war. Subsequently he went to Spain and Africa, gathering experience and material while working on "The Recognitions."

He continued work on the novel through the early 1950s. Published in 1955, it received generally unappreciative reviews. In a brief one in The New York Times Book Review, Granville Hicks said that the author had "ostentatiously aimed at writing a masterpiece," but had written a book that was "no more than very talented or highly ingenious or, on another level, rather amusing." Mr. Gaddis said the book's reception was "a sobering experience."

It was 20 years before he published another novel, but during the interval, "The Recognitions" was reprinted in a paperback edition and was published abroad, and it began building an underground reputation for the author. To continue his fiction, Mr. Gaddis supported himself by teaching and writing nonfiction on assignment. For four years, he worked in public relations for the Pfizer pharmaceutical company. In 1963 he won a National Arts and Letters grant and, four years later, another from the National Endowment for the Arts.

By the time "JR" was published, in 1975, Mr. Gaddis had achieved the recognition that had been denied him upon publication of his first novel. In The New York Times Book Review, George Stade characterized the theme of "The Recognitions" as "the multiple and paradoxical relations between recognition and forgery," and said the book had raised the question whether "all human products and activities are each no more than items in a series of copies for which there is no original."

The reviewer continued that "as much, and more" could be said about "JR," and concluded that "no recent novel I know of with anything like the fullness or accuracy of 'JR' is at once so inventive and subtle in the structure of relations among its parts."

Praised by William Gass and other writers, "JR" won the National Book Award. "Carpenter's Gothic" followed in 1985.

At the time of the book's publication, the author said in an interview that there was no underlying scheme to his novels. "There is an obligation not to bore or bore yourself in doing your work," Mr. Gaddis said. "If a writer is bored, the reader will be, too." For "A Frolic of His Own" in 1994, a book about plagiarism and intellectual property, he won his second National Book Award.

Bob Edwards in Edinburgh?

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Herald Tribune
THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER

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THE FREQUENT TRAVELER

Taking the Long Thin Airlines

By Roger Collis
International Herald Tribune

TWO events this month — the demise of Swiss World Airways, a fledgling carrier based in Geneva, and a new Swissair service from Basel to New York-Newark — show that it is very difficult for start-up airlines to succeed and that there is demand for direct flights on "thin" transatlantic point-to-point services — what I call "regional long-haul" routes.

Travelers look for fast connections through user-friendly airports, avoiding megahubs like London-Heathrow, Paris-Charles de Gaulle, Frankfurt, Amsterdam and Zurich, unless that is where they are starting out from or want to go.

Swiss World Airways started flying on Sept. 10 with a daily flight operated with a leased Boeing 767-200 ER — a much-needed service since Swissair virtually orphaned the region 18 months ago by moving most of its long-haul services from Geneva to Zurich, keeping just one daily flight to JFK in New York, against which SWA competed directly with cheaper, more flexible fares in first, business class and economy.

SWA stopped flying two weeks ago with alleged debts of 3 million Swiss francs (\$2.25 million) — having used up half its capital before it took to the air. It

might have been wiser to have started with Geneva-Montreal or Geneva-Washington rather than compete head-on with Swissair to New York.

SWA had hoped to follow the example of Belgium's City Bird, which took off in March 1997 with low-cost flights between Brussels and Miami, Orlando, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Las Vegas and Mexico City. You simply call the airline to buy a one-way ticket with your credit card and show up at the airport — for 40 to 60 percent less than major carriers. City Bird struck a deal with Sabena whereby City Bird passengers can buy cheap one-way onward connections through Brussels to 48 destinations in Europe. SWA relied on point-to-point traffic. City Bird reported its first profit for the third quarter of 1998.

Meanwhile, on Dec. 17, Swissair started a six-times-a-week service between EuroAirport — Basel-Mulhouse-Freiburg — and Newark as a code-share with Delta Air Lines and Crossair, Swissair's regional subsidiary, using an Airbus A310 with 42 business-class and 163 economy seats. Crossair is developing an extensive "hub and spoke" network through EuroAirport to around 50 European destinations, which enables travelers in, say, Nuremberg, Bilbao, Dresden or

Toulouse to connect painlessly to New York — avoiding the megahubs, not only for short flights in Europe, but also for long-haul flights.

EuroAirport to Newark is the first of a dozen "long thin" services that Crossair plans to operate next year from EuroAirport — to Buenos Aires, Atlanta, Mexico City and Charlotte, North Carolina.

Skymark Airlines, the first of a new breed of low-cost Asian carriers, is set to cut fares on major routes in Japan. Skymark, which models its operations on that of the U.S. low-cost pioneer, Southwest Airlines, has been granted a license to begin services between Tokyo and Fukuoka. It will open the route with Boeing 767s with a fare half that of its competitors — Japan Airlines, All Nippon Airlines and Japan Air Systems. The airline is also seeking permission to fly to Hokkaido and Okinawa.

Two other low-cost carriers are applying for licenses and more are expected to follow. Success depends on being able to secure slots at peak times. Otherwise, travelers may choose convenience over cost.

Roger Collis can be reached by fax at (33-4) 93-74-77-92.

GOOD TRAVEL DEALS

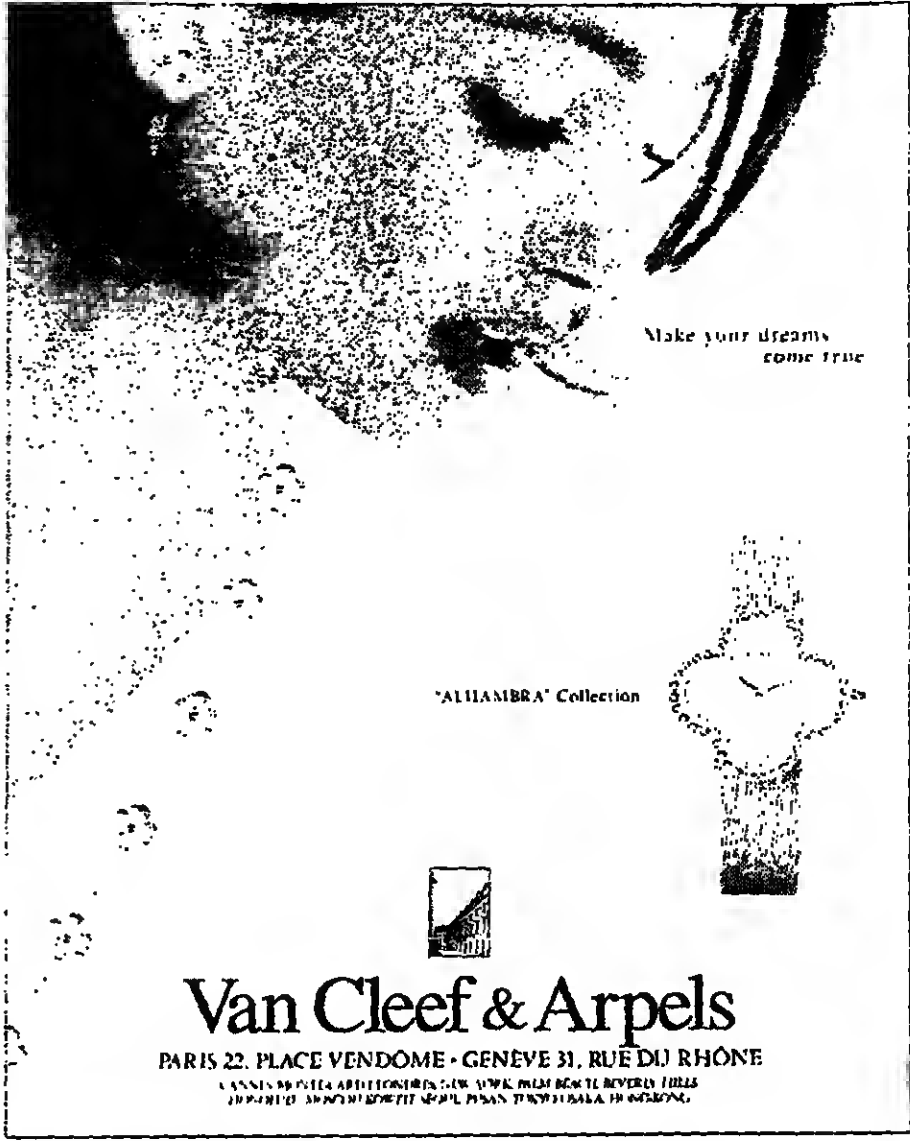
GETTING THERE		
AIR PORTUGAL	Britain to Portugal	Fly-drive package from £148 (\$250) per person (multiples of two adults traveling together) includes round-trip air fare and three days' Avis car rental with unlimited mileage, taxes and insurance. Jan. 1 to March 26. (44-171) 828-0262.
BRITISH AIRWAYS/ QANTAS	London to Singapore	Five-night package for £489 (\$826) per person on twin-share includes round-trip flights with BA or Qantas and accommodation in the Mandarin on Orchard Road. Some restrictions apply. Valid for departures from London Heathrow from Jan. 18 to Feb. 11. Travelers, (44-171) 938-3939.
WHERE TO STAY		
BEIRUT COMMODEORE	Beirut	Fifty percent discount on rooms and suites. Until Feb. 28. (981-1) 350-400.
EQUATORIAL	Shanghai	"Superior" rooms (single or double) for 596 yuan (\$72) night with tax and service includes 50 percent off food and beverage. (86-21) 6248-1688.
HILTON GARDEN INN	Ciudad Juarez, Mexico	Introductory rate of \$69 per room per night for weekend stays. Good until Jan. 31.
HOLIDAY INN	Asia-Pacific	Up to 50 percent off published rates at 78 participating Holiday Inns and Crown Plaza properties in Australia, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand. Settle your bill with an American Express card for a room upgrade; late check-out till 4:30 P.M., breakfast. Until March 31.

Compiled by Roger Collis. Although the IHT carefully checks these offers, please be forewarned that some travel agents may be unaware of them, or unable to book them.

ARTS GUIDE

CLOSING SOON

- Some museums may be closed on holidays. We suggest you call before going.
- BRITAIN**
LONDON
Tate Gallery, tel: (171) 667-8000, open daily. Continuing to Jan. 17: "John Singer Sargent." Paintings, Impressionist paintings and Venetian landscapes.
www.tate.org.uk
Victoria and Albert Museum, tel: (171) 938-8349, open daily. To Aug. 31: "Silver and Symp." Highlights from the V&A's Collection. Photographs by Avedon, Fenton, Szeiz, Gaps and younger talents from Britain, Europe and the United States.
www.vam.ac.uk
- NETHERLANDS**
ROTTERDAM
Kunsthal, tel: 10-44-30-366, closed Mondays. To Feb. 28: "Royal St." Works from the Netherlands and Belgium, 1870-1940. More than 100 paintings, 50 artists, including Bruegel, Van Gogh, and Mondrian. The exhibition shows the historical influences and the differences between the various generations of artists from both countries.
www.museum.org
- SPAIN**
VALENCIA
IVAM Centre Julio Gonzalez, tel: 96-350-1100, closed Mondays. To March 8: "Mondrian y Arte Moderno." An exhibition of children by well-known artists between the two World Wars. Features toys by Torres-Garcia, artists created by
- AMERICAN**
Dec. 27: "Monet in the 20th Century" Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ASIA**
Dec. 20: "Andre Malraux and 12 French Masters." Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo.
Dec. 20: "Roman Art in Germany." Prefectural Museum of Art, Shizuoka, Japan.
Dec. 23: "Georges Rouault." Seiji Togo Yasuda Kasai Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo.
Dec. 31: "Auspicious Dreams: Decorative Paintings of Korea." Ho-Am Art Museum, Yonjin, South Korea.
- EUROPE**
Dec. 20: "Masterpieces of Imperial Chinese Ceramics from the Aubrey Collection." Royal Academy of Arts, London.
Compiled by Elisabeth Hopkins



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EDITORIALS/OPINION

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

War and Impeachment**A Justified Attack**

After hearing for months about Bill Clinton's ability to compartmentalize issues, the country and the world now have to match that difficult trick. By attacking Iraq as House members gathered in the capital to consider his impeachment, Mr. Clinton could not avoid the impression that he is blurring the boundaries that must separate America's foreign conduct from its domestic political turbulence. But that accusation would in large part be unfair. The confrontation with Iraq has played out on its own timetable and happened to reach a decisive point on the eve of the House impeachment debate.

No one but Mr. Clinton knows all the factors that went into his decision to order air strikes, and historians may long speculate whether the threat of impeachment propelled him to exercise his powers as commander in chief. Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, and a handful of other Republicans immediately questioned Mr. Clinton's motives, a startling departure from the unity that usually accompanies American military action. That is not the only political custom suspended in Washington this strange and eventful week.

But viewed outside the prism of impeachment, the decision to launch cruise missiles against Iraq was fully justified. Just weeks after Saddam Hussein had again promised to give international inspectors unhindered access, Iraq barred them from sites suspected of housing chemical and biological arms. Richard Butler, the chief UN inspector, reported Tuesday that effective inspections were impossible.

Given the prospect that Baghdad

would rebuild its arsenal of toxic weapons while UN inspectors were handcuffed, Mr. Clinton and Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain had no choice but to use military force to destroy portions of Iraq's arms industry. With the Islamic holy month of Ramadan beginning this weekend, military action had to start or be postponed until late January.

Cruise missiles and the bombing runs that will follow cannot eliminate the threat, but they can severely reduce Iraq's ability to make new weapons or use its old ones. It is essential for American and British forces to limit civilian casualties. Washington and London must also be mindful of the uneven international support for the attack. There are limits on how long and how hard Iraq can be hit before foreign support diminishes.

In the likely event that Iraq refuses to allow inspections to resume after this attack, the Security Council must develop new ways to restrain Baghdad. Mr. Clinton outlined a strategy of containment, promising to use force again if necessary and to maintain economic sanctions on Iraq. These measures may not be popular among all members of the Security Council, but less forceful policies will not work as long as Saddam remains in power.

Mr. Clinton made only glancing reference to the gathering storm of impeachment in his address on Wednesday evening, but the convergence of events clearly left Republicans disgruntled and distrustful. The attack on Iraq may delay but will not end the debate over Mr. Clinton's fate or change any votes already committed to impeachment. Congress needs to resolve that constitutional crisis as soon as possible.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Separate Crises

In blocking United Nations arms inspectors from doing their jobs, Saddam Hussein gave the United States no choice but to respond militarily. That the Iraq crisis has peaked just as the United States faces its own political crisis cannot but raise questions here and abroad about America's motives, and those of President Bill Clinton. But the coincidence of events cannot be allowed to distract attention from the need to deal with the long-term threat posed by Saddam and his defiance of international law.

Saddam's army invaded and occupied Kuwait. The United States assembled an international coalition that expelled his troops from that sovereign nation. In defeat, and as a condition of cease-fire, Saddam promised to destroy, under international inspection, his biological, chemical and nuclear weapons components and the missiles that could deliver such weapons. For more than seven years he has done everything he could to violate that promise — to subvert UN inspections and preserve his poisonous weapons. It was a report this week from the UN inspectors detailing Saddam's continuing defiance that determined the timing of America's response in firm partnership with its British allies. To delay now would be to give Saddam time to disperse his illicit weapons and would, by bumping into the observance of Ramadan, give possible offense to Muslims.

Dulling the Edge of Truth

At an October conference called "The Claims of Memory," the novelist Cynthia Ozick is reported to have said: "The aims of the imagination are not the aims of history." These words come to mind in the case of the Nobel peace laureate Rigoberta Menchu. A new book by the anthropologist David Stoll now refutes a number of claims in Miss Menchu's widely celebrated memoir, "I, Rigoberta Menchu," published in 1983. These include her assertions that the adversaries in her family's land disputes were wealthy landowners of European extraction, that she witnessed mass executions by burning, and that, as a young woman, she worked as a laborer and political organizer.

The question this case raises is how best to serve the aims of history. For the most part, the crimes Miss Menchu reported, including widespread political murder and torture, were real crimes, even if she learned of some of them from others. The struggle to which Miss Menchu has devoted herself — asserting the rights of indig-

enous peoples — is a struggle in which most of her immediate family died and for which she herself has suffered. The criminal oppression of indigenous peoples in Guatemala cannot be disputed nor can the impact of her example. Why, then, the sinking feeling upon learning that some of the essential facts in "I, Rigoberta Menchu" are not true?

In a war between unequals, especially when the more powerful side is rampantly duplicitous, we expect that truth will be on the side of the innocent. Miss Menchu has clearly chosen what might generously be called "representative" truth, where the sufferings of a people are conflated in the tale of an individual life. Her achievement has been diminished because she altered the truth, perhaps merely in order to make her story more emblematic. That sad fact mitigates none of the crimes committed against Guatemalan Indians. Testimony is the people's history, but it is only as powerful as it is true.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

For the EU, the Focus Now Must Be on Russia

By Martti Ahtisaari

The writer is president of Finland.

HELSINKI — As the leaders of the European Union met in Vienna last weekend, the crisis in Russia loomed large over the summit meeting. Developments in that country have shown that there are no quick solutions. Unhealthy structures cannot sustain a market economy, and democracy requires a civil society in which to grow on. Laying the foundations will take time, and sustainable solutions will need the support of the Duma and the people.

In its natural resources and its long tradition of research and education, Russia has the basic elements necessary for a takeoff. However, democracy and a genuine market economy can thrive only under the rule of law. Rampant crime is a clear and present danger, as the assassination of the reformer Gennadiy Starovoitov shows.

It is clear that Russia will be able to extricate itself from its present crisis only through interaction and cooperation with the rest of the world, especially its European neighbors. In order to get on top of its difficult situation, Russia has to come to grips not only with its economy, but also with its geography and its history.

After Finland and Sweden joined the

European Union, Russia became its next-door neighbor. The EU acquired a Northern dimension. Both the Union and Russia will gain from keeping the doors open. A natural interdependence exists in Europe. Take energy: In the coming decades, the European Union will be more and more dependent on imported energy, especially natural gas. In the north, Russia has huge gas deposits, for which the only feasible market is the European Union.

With its economy more and more dependent on foreign trade, Russia needs export harbors on the Baltic. Transit traffic will generate income for states on the coast of the sea and bring stability to the entire region.

Borders do not stop pollution, nor do they bar epidemics, drugs and crime. Cooperation is the key to success in fighting them, as experience has shown on the 1,300-kilometer Finnish-Russian border, now an EU-Russian frontier as well.

All these elements of interdependence are included in the European Commission report "A Northern Di-

mension for European Union Policies," which was presented to the EU meeting in Vienna.

Even short of its Soviet empire, Russia remains the largest country on Earth. The Soviet Union — nominally a federal state — tried, and failed, to keep its huge territory in the iron grip of a central command. By contrast, Russia is now on a course toward true federalism.

Russia's constituent parts — republics and regions — are called "subjects" of the federation, and the record shows that they have come a long way from their Soviet-era status as mere objects of central power.

The regions' governors are now elected directly by popular vote and are responsible to the electorate for their actions. Accordingly, the regions wield more real power than they have ever done in the past. The elements for building a functioning federation with genuine devolution of power are now in place. Turning what was once a monolithic unitary state into a federal one is a historic achievement.

Finland is in favor of the EU strongly supporting the development of regional and local administration and strengthening grassroots democracy and civil society in Russia. Decen-

tralization by design will prevent disintegration by default.

There are very few nations that can face their history — all of its periods — with equanimity. Yet, that is what they have to do in order to be at ease both with themselves and with their neighbors.

Finns were impressed when President Boris Yeltsin came to Helsinki in 1992 and laid a wreath at the monument to Finland's war heroes, acknowledging that the Soviet Union had acted wrongfully in attacking our country in 1939. His admission sealed the reconciliation between Finland and the new Russia. There are still sensitive events in our history, but they no longer burden our relationship. The fact that Finland was never occupied and that its independence and constitutional continuity were never encroached upon made reconciliation easier.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will join the European Union in the coming decade. They were occupied in World War II and lost their independence for fifty years. The role of the new Russia was crucial in the restoration of their sovereignty. Now it must be possible to move on toward well-functioning relations in the European spirit.

International Herald Tribune

Russians Struggle to Come to Grips With the Communist Past

By Fred Hiatt

WASHINGTON — On a chilly August evening in 1991, a Moscow crowd cheered the removal of a statue of "Iron Felix" Dzerzhinsky, brutal founder of the Soviet secret police, from its pedestal before KGB headquarters.

As I look through news archives now, I find this event described, in subsequent months and years, as the work of "angry crowds" or even an "angry mob." But I was in Dzerzhinsky Square (as the plaza then was known) that August night, when the Soviet Union was crumbling, and I know there was no mob. As a municipal crane methodically lifted the heavy statue and swung it toward a waiting truck, onlookers remained orderly and good-natured. A bit awed at their presence in history, a folksinger sang sad Russian ballads over a scratchy loudspeaker. People smoked and shivered and chanted quietly and, at the climactic moment, chanted patriotically: "Russia, Russia!"

It is a small example of how history can get written and then rewritten, and I came across it only because Russia is still rewriting its history in a much more momentous way. Earlier this month,

the Duma, or lower house of Parliament, voted to return Iron Felix to the perch in the square that no longer bears his name.

The Duma vote, seven years after a seemingly definitive repudiation of Bolshevik terror, reflects how confused and divided Russians remain about their past. That in turn helps explain why they remain confused and divided about how to shape their future.

Think what our emotions would be if Germans continued to worship Hitler, installing his mummified corpse in a mausoleum by the Reichstag.

Unimaginable, of course. Yet that is about where Russians are in dealing with their history. Stalin is no longer in Red Square, but Lenin remains on reverential display, a bit too yellow but neatly coiffed and costumed. Most Russians would like to inter him in a cemetery — a proper Christian burial would be a fitting punishment — but too many others still want him in his humidity-controlled glass case.

How can this be? Lenin created the system in which — as one elderly man

told me the night Dzerzhinsky came down — "there was practically not a family in this entire country in which someone didn't suffer — either in jail, or in the labor camps, or shot." The man's uncle had spent 15 years in the gulag because he had owned a few shares of stock in the 1920s.

For decades, Russians were taught that Lenin was the good-hearted, all-seeing father of the nation; that Dzerzhinsky's secret police courageously defended peace and order; that a boy who rated on his father to the KGB was a model of moral heroism. Now they are told otherwise. But whom to believe — especially when the new historians also seem to have ushered in a period of danger, uncertainty and poverty in many people's lives?

"We are all guilty," said Alexander Yakovlev. An architect of Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost*, Mr. Yakovlev has headed for the past decade a commission intended to "rehabilitate" victims of Soviet repression — to restore the reputations of millions upon millions unjustly sentenced to their deaths in Siberia, to award pensions to those who miraculously survived.

Punishing wrongdoers is not on his

agenda, but even so his commission's seemingly innocuous work is often stymied. Mr. Yakovlev said. To this day, he said, he cannot get key documents Stalin's crimes. Children born and raised in the gulag qualify for no compensation. Russians are so uninterested, so unwilling to face their past, that Mr. Yakovlev appealed to an audience in Washington, at the Holocaust Memorial auditorium, for help in publishing documents he has uncovered.

All this matters. If Russians are not sure that it was wrong to round up peasants who owned more than one cow, how can they agree on reprivatizing land? If Dzerzhinsky is a hero, what chance can there be for civil liberty and the rule of law?

That same autumn evening in 1991, another man, a 56-year-old archery coach, told me he had faith, for the first time, that Russia would be free. But he also warned that the process would take time. "After 70 years, you can't be free all at once," he said.

Dzerzhinsky is not back up yet; opposition to his return is strong. But the coach's warning might have been more right than even he expected.

The Washington Post

Clinton's Motives Are Pure — as Are Congress's

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Has Bill Clinton at long last had a change of heart about Saddam Hussein? Or is his sudden hawkishness — on the eve of Impeachment Day — a trick to buy time, delay the vote on spurious national security grounds and play for a break in the House?

A mark of the degree of distrust in the president's word, developed over years of listening to evasions, half-truths and outright lies, is the fury of frustrated Republicans on Capitol Hill.

On Wednesday night they heard him invoke "the fear of force" against the dictator who for years has had no reason to

fear Clinton force. "The cost of action," he intoned, "must be weighed against the price of inaction." So true — just as it was true in the spring, when he chose inaction with the UN's Kofi Annan, and true recently when he flinched at the last minute and gave Saddam a cheap victory by recalling an air strike.

But then we have to ask ourselves: Would any U.S. president, even in political extremis, stoop to risking lives to cling to power? Holding summit meetings to affect public opinion is par for the course, but launching hundreds of cruise

missiles will cost lives and invite retaliation. No matter what I think of Mr. Clinton's motives and methods, I cannot bring myself to think that.

Assuming only patriotic motives, then, what do we make of "Desert Fox," the first American military operation named after a Nazi-era German general? What is its mission, and how long will it last?

One clue comes from the reason given for the attack at impeachment time. The president tells us that it would have been a mistake to "initiate" it during Ramadan, Islam's holy month.

That starts Saturday. Unless it is deemed not "profoundly offensive" to continue bombing during Ramadan, that limits the attack to a few days.

Despite the heavy rhetoric and the televised sight and sound, the timorous mission has not changed. With off-again-on-again bombing, Mr. Clinton still hopes to "contain" Saddam, to persuade him to readmit inspectors to finance indigenous rebellion, to plead with the United Nations to maintain sanctions. It is a strategy of half-measures.

Barring a lucky hit, a few days — or even weeks — of bombs will not eliminate the Iraqi dictator's threat to every civilized country. Air power may temporarily "degrade" but not knock out his capacity to produce germ and poison-gas weapons, nor will bombs destroy the well-dispersed Republican Guard. Even as we annoy him from above, he will produce a weapon of mass destruction somewhere down below. And then he will tell us to stop or else.

Only the credible threat of another invasion of Iraq is likely to stimulate a successful coup. No such unpopular Gulf buildup will be in the works during the Clinton administration. That can be seen kicked to the next president.

Now to the impact of the impeachment-Eve Desert Foxness on Mr. Clinton's personal fortunes. The last-ditch, fall-back argument of his defenders

is that House action would "paralyze the country." That has just been demolished by Mr. Clinton's acceptance of Saddam's invitation to bomb his people into Arab martyrdom.

The answer to the national-paralysis bogeyman can be found in these punitive air strikes. The House, with a bow to seemliness, will delay an impeachment decision for a bit. Then, as Mr. Clinton declares a famous victory in the war process (following his getting things "back on track" in the peace process) the House will coolly proceed with the impeachment process.

We are in a period of half-measures. The military half-measure Mr. Clinton is taking in Iraq is unlikely to depose Saddam, which is a bad thing. But the political half-measure Congress is taking in Washington with the House impeaching and the Senate chastising but not removing Mr. Clinton — is a good thing.

In so conducting our foreign and domestic affairs, we show the world that the United States is able to exert military power abroad while calling to account the abuse of executive power at home. Up to a point, we can chew up a dictator and cheer a president at the same time.

Credit Clinton with pure motives in doing so little, too late. Credit Congress with equally patriotic motives in doing just enough and on time.

The New York Times

Mo Udall's Infectious Laughter

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton is not the first chief executive to have problems with Congress. "I have been told I was on the road to hell," Abraham Lincoln once said, "but I had no idea it was just a mile down the road with a dome on it."

Nor is Mr. Clinton the first American to wonder about the relationship between the Republican Party and the Almighty. "The 1928 Republican Convention opened with a prayer," Will Rogers wrote. "If the Lord can see his way clear to bless the Republican Party the way it is being carried on, then the rest of us ought to get it without even asking."

To which a Republican might retort, deploying the words of former Representative Clare Boothe Luce: "A Democratic president is doomed to proceed to his goals like a squid, squirting darkness all around him."

Morris K. Udall collected these and hundreds of other stories and one-liners. The former congressman died last Saturday and left us with what his home state paper, The Arizona Republic, called "a legacy of decency and dignity." Mr. Udall had been battling Parkinson's disease for years. Perhaps Providence timed his passing to coincide with this dismal moment in our national life and to remind us that politics and political leadership can be ennobling.

Remembering Mo Udall is to recall that civility is not the enemy of principle and courage. It is also to know that laughter is the tonic of a free society, the great ally of democracy's spirit. Humor is the enemy of pretension, bloviation, self-importance and despair.

In times of national

tragedy, disappointment or defeat, political humor can assuage the nation's grief, sadness or anger and thus make bearable that which must be borne." Mr. Udall wrote in his memoir "Too Funny To Be President." And he cited Lincoln: "I laugh because I must not cry."

If Mr. Udall had been listening to the often bloated language of the impeachment debate these last couple of weeks, he might have recalled another Lincolnian, said in reference to a colleague: "He can compress the most words into the smallest idea of any man I ever met."

And while Mr. Udall was genuinely self-deprecating, he was death to the fake humility so common in public life. He would quote Golda Meir's admonition: "Don't be humble. You're not that great."

Mr. Udall's humor was also spontaneous. During his 1976 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, Mr. Udall was shaking hands outside a New Hampshire factory in sub-zero temperatures. Next to him was a volunteer for the campaign of another Democratic hopeful, former Senator Fred Harris. As the Harris volunteer passed out his leaflets, he repeated over and over the Oklahoma populist campaign slogan: "The Issue is Privilege."

Finally, a shivering Mr. Udall turned to the young volunteer. "The issue," Mr. Udall declared, "is pneumonia."

Precisely because Mr. Udall was genuinely funny, it was easy to forget the seriousness of his record. He was a scrappy reformer, a foe of the congress-

sional seniority system, an early advocate of fixing the campaign finance mess, and a civil service reformer before anyone heard the words "reinventing government." The Alaska Lands Act and the Wilderness Act are among his legacies.

He lost one of his eyes when he was 6 years old, in part because his parents could not afford decent medical care. Instead of turning inward in bitterness, he turned outward in commitment and fought all his life to guarantee health insurance to all Americans.

He came close to defeating Jimmy Carter in 1976 for the Democratic presidential nomination. Mr. Udall kept coming in second in the primaries. (Reflecting on the cost of his campaign, Mr. Udall quoted Will Rogers: "Politics has got so expensive that it takes a lot of money even to get beat with.") I've always thought it a great loss that Mr. Udall never reached the White House. His decency, combined with his practical Western progressivism, might have changed the course of our politics.

How many conversations have you heard about how to explain the present crisis to our children? One thing I'll do is tell my kids about a funny, decent and principled man named Mo Udall who made people proud to be engaged in politics.

At the beginning of his book, Mr. Udall cited John F. Kennedy: "There are three things that are real: God, human folly and laughter. The first two are beyond comprehension. So we must do what we can with the third." Mr. Udall used laughter to combat human folly and may God bless him for it.

The Washington Post

Herald Tribune

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THURINGIA



ERFURT, BUSINESS HUB OF THURINGIA

The capital is a prime site for business events.

Headquartered in Jena, Jenoptik recently announced that it would hold its 1999 annual general meeting in Erfurt, at the city's new fairgrounds. Jenoptik's decision was gratifying to Rüdiger Schleusner, head of marketing and event management at Messe Erfurt AG, the city's trade fair authority, but it was not a surprise.

"Erfurt is definitely the state's business hub," says Mr. Schleusner. "Companies gravitate to the centers of political and economic power in the state, and that's what Erfurt, thanks to the ministries and other official bodies based in the city, definitely is."

He adds: "I wasn't surprised because our fairgrounds, although only a year old, have already been selected by a large number of out-of-town companies — including the Eisenach-based Opel — for their congresses, meetings and product shows."

Noris Jenoptik is the only Thuringian high-tech power using our facilities. Our trade fairs — which include the new MTT Microelectronics and Optoelectronics — are heavily attended by Erfurt's microelectronics innovators and the state's other new-look companies.

These innovators form a key element of the city's new business community. Their ranks are led by MAZET, founded in 1992 and today one of Europe's leading designers and developers of application-specific microelectronics components and subsystems for industrial automation and communications systems. Other leading high-tech companies in the city include Thesys and X-FAB.

To promote the growth of its clusters, Erfurt set up a Center for Intelligent Sensing and reformed its university. Soon to follow is a major "innovation park."

While the high-tech innovators grab attention, they have not accounted for the bulk of Erfurt's development. That's come from the city's service sector, which doubled in size between 1992 and 1997. Showing particularly fast growth has been the city's financial sector, now comprised of 170 banks and insurance companies.

INDUSTRY LEADS THE WAY TO GROWTH

Continued from page 12

manage commercially exploitable real estate located in the state's communities, among other a wide range of other activities.

The properties' previous owners were everyone from the Soviet Army to East Germany's mammoth industrial trusts, or Kombinate. Many of the properties are crazy-quits of apartment buildings, industrial facilities, even relatively unspoiled bits of nature. As a result, site reclamation and commercialization is very complex and time-consuming.

In 1995, LEG Thüringen also assumed the responsibility of reaching out to the world's investors. Today, LEG Thüringen plays a wide variety of roles — including

property owner and developer, technical consultant and general contractor — in successfully fulfilling its assignment. The corporation is currently carrying out some 250 projects.

If the above responsibilities weren't enough, the corporation was recently given another far-reaching responsibility. LEG Thüringen acquired much of the state's holdings of housing, along with a wide variety of other buildings. The corporation is now the largest landlord in the state.

Undaunted by the range of responsibilities, LEG Thüringen has set itself ambitious goals. They include helping to create 20,000 new jobs, 1,000 affordable apartments and 7,500 construction sites by 2000.

BIG MAGNETISM FROM THE SMALL CITY OF WEIMAR

Construction technology is a specialty.

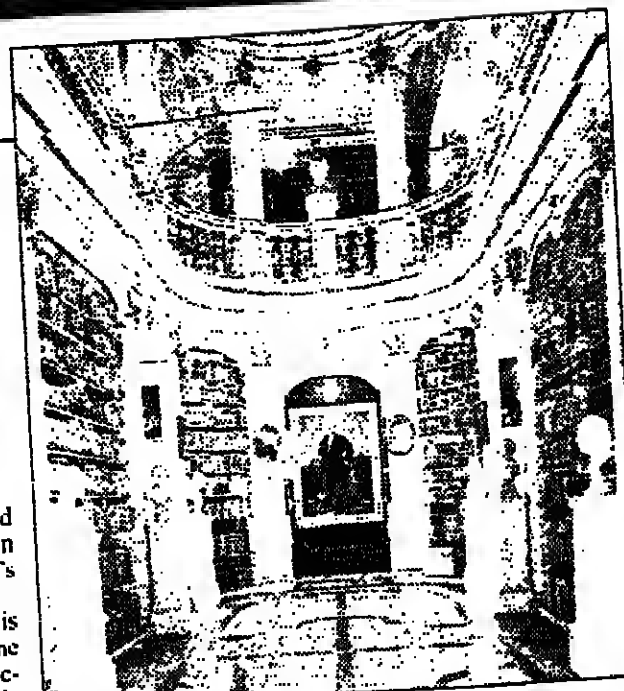
In 1775, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe arrived in Weimar, capping the city's rise to cultural eminence in Europe. The city's population in those days was a tiny 6,000. Weimar's tradition of a very small size going hand in hand with a very large pull has continued to this day.

Today, Weimar's population is ten times larger. According to Friedrich Folger, the city councillor in charge of business development, the city attracts nearly two million visitors a year.

Weimar also manages to pack three post-secondary schools — one of them the Bauhaus University of architecture and construction-related technologies — and no fewer than five industry and business parks in its city limits. Now being developed is another office park, the Schöndorf Classic Center. A wide range of revamped local companies, as well as international corporations

such as Coca-Cola and Schering, have set up shop in the parks and on the city's other commercial sites.

The Bauhaus University is the direct descendant of the famed art and design movement, which was founded in Weimar in 1919. Weimar's business development efforts are currently focused on capitalizing on this tradition and establishing itself as a center of construction technologies and materials engineering. To



The Duchess Anna Amalia Library in Weimar.

that end, no fewer than five institutes have been set up in the city. The technologies being developed by the city range from the use of advanced materials like ceramics in building supplies to achieving of maximal levels of environmental protection in construction projects.

EUROPEAN CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR 1999

Weimar, Europe's cultural capital in 1999, is staging 1,000 events by 5,000 artists from more than 100 countries next year. Highlights will be the city-wide New Year's Eve party, February 19 and the gala formally kicking off the year, and August 28 and the festivities in honor of the 250th birthday of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

For more information:

Weimar Tourist Information
Markt 10, D-99421 Weimar
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or the dedicated Web site: <http://www.weimar1999.de>

JENA: FROM MICROSCOPES TO BIOTECH

Jena-made "bio-instruments" are staples of the world's biotech labs and production facilities.

A step-by-step logic explains Jena's rise to being one of Germany's main biotech centers. The city's long-time specialty was making microscopes, telescopes and other devices allowing scientists to see and measure unimaginably small, large and/or fast-moving items.

The city's still doing that today. Its electron-scan microscopes and X-ray telescopes are employed to calibrate the distances between individual atoms or the speeds at which far-away galaxies are zooming away from the Milky Way.

These capabilities are in great demand in the biotech sector, whose current thrust is engineering a large amount of ultra-precise, intracellular reactions within very short periods of time. The reactions, in turn, are used to produce and test new substances, the precursors of tomorrow's biomedications. Jena-made "bio-instruments" are now staples of the world's biotech laboratories and production facilities.

There are now 16 such bio-instrument manufacturers in the city. Most of them are associated with the city's two intertwined high-tech leaders, Carl Zeiss Jena and Jenoptik, the latter of which was spun off from Carl Zeiss.

The companies include Clonding

Chip Technologies, which has developed a technology capable of placing DNA samples on chips. This "bio-chip" technology will allow for swift creation of DNA libraries. The increasing users of DNA libraries include police tracking down criminals and paleontologists searching for the origins of the human being.

Investment in Jena's bio-instrument cluster is facilitated by Biostart GmbH, a subsidiary of LEG Thüringen. Thuringia's public sector business development corporation, Biostart also helps Jena's companies market their products.

Old and new: The Fischmarkt in Erfurt (top left) and Jenoptik headquarters (above) in Jena.

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Leisure

Macau Struggles to Keep Its Identity

By Katherine Tanko

MACAU — It is fado night at the Lusitano. On a tiny spotlighted stage, a Portuguese singer dressed in black strums his mandolin and croons soulful melodies to a spell-bound audience. The songs are the classic stuff of fado, tales of love, loss and longing — themes that are all too familiar to the roomful of moist-eyed Macanese.

Especially now. With Macau set to return to Chinese rule in December 1999, the need to safeguard the enclave's distinct cultural identity has never been more urgent. All over Macau, construction sites hum as new museums are built and old landmarks and attractions are revamped. There is concern that tiny Macau, with its 16 square kilometers (6 square miles) of land and a population of 502,000, will be overwhelmed by its giant neighbor to the north.

There is no doubt that Macau is unique. As the oldest European settlement in Asia, its fortunes have waxed and waned since it was founded by the Portuguese in 1557. Macau was at the forefront of Europe's expansion into Asia, then slipped into obscurity, began as a staging post for Roman Catholicism

in Asia, then found economic salvation in gambling. For more than 400 years, this tiny outpost on the south China coast flourished as a unique cultural melting pot, unmatched in all the world.

Macau's most enduring multi-ethnic symbol is the Macanese, the small group of Macau-born people of mixed Chinese and Portuguese blood blended with strains of everything from Malay and Indian to Japanese and Russian. Tracing their roots back hundreds of years, the Macanese are more than cultural mediators between the enclave's dominant groups. They have their own history and traditions that embrace everything from cuisine to theater to language.

"The Macanese are proud of their culture," says Henrique de Senna Fernandes, a Macanese who is a lawyer and novelist. "We don't want to lose our own identity. We may not have any high heroes, but we still have a way of life and a way of thinking that is our own."

Macau's best known cultural icon is its cuisine, an ingenious blend born of two traditions renowned for hearty appetites and love of food. But according to the chef Chan Yok Kong, Macanese food is about more than "East meets West." It is the best of Portuguese cuisine reinvented to suit Asian tastes. That means not only a subtle shift in the

use of herbs and spices, but also a different approach to cooking.

"Portuguese food is quite bland," says Chan, whose father was the governor's chef for 20 years. "They only like simple spices, use a lot of pork fat, which is very heavy, and often stew things for hours. In Macanese cuisine, traditional Portuguese dishes are re-created with a touch of Asian flair: Olive or vegetable oil replaces pork fat; local spices like star seed, tamarind, lemongrass and chili are used, and fast wok cookery replaces the slow-cook stew pot."

While Macanese food is fairly well known, other aspects of the culture are in danger of being lost. Macanese patois, a local dialect that fuses Portuguese with Chinese, Malay and other languages, has all but died out.

"When I was younger, there were regular patois plays," says Sonia Palmer, senior manager at the Macau Jockey Club and one of the founding members of the amateur theater group Docí Papiacao di Macau. "Theo one day, a group of us were talking about how much we used to enjoy those plays and what a pity it was the younger generation didn't speak patois any more. So we decided to make one ourselves."

Docí Papiacao di Macau — the phrase means "sweet talk" — has been a huge success since the group staged its first play in 1993. Ironically, most of the company's members had to learn patois from scratch. Even Miguel de Senna Fernandes, a playwright for the troupe, had to learn his "native tongue" before putting pen to paper. In keeping with tradition, the plays are light-hearted, topical and humorous, exploring themes from the visit of the Portuguese president to cultural gaffes to issues surrounding the 1999 handover. The group has gone on tour, it is so popular, playing to Macanese expatriates from Sao Paulo to Toronto.

Who's Who?

While the revival of Macanese theater has done much to bolster local pride, the whole concept of what it is to be Macanese can be confusing to outsiders. There is no official definition of who is a Macanese, so even determining the size of the community is impossible. Estimates range from 1 to 3 percent of the enclave's 500,000 or so residents, from 5,000 to 15,000 people.

"It is very difficult to define," said Palmer, the Jockey Club manager. "Macanese are traditionally those born in Macau of mixed blood. But some Chinese who have had a Portuguese education also consider themselves

Macanese. Then there are the Portuguese who are born here and, although they look very European, they speak fluent Cantonese, mix with the local community and consider themselves Macanese."

"Macanese is a cultural definition," agreed Henrique de Senna Fernandes, whose family roots here go back some 250 years. Though a lawyer by training, the 74-year-old is also a writer, and a romantic at heart. He has written four books about the Macau of his childhood to preserve the traditions and customs of his native home for future generations.

"I write about my childhood experiences. If I don't write, the memory of that way of living will be lost forever."

The fact remains that, come Dec. 19, 1999, Macau's 400-year link with Portugal will come to an end. There doesn't seem to be much hand-wringing among the Macanese though.

"At first people were a bit afraid," Palmer said. "But we had the example of Hong Kong, which seems to be O.K., so people are less worried now. Some who thought of leaving before have now decided to stay."

To preserve the enclave's unique cultural heritage and prevent it from being swallowed whole by China, money has been poured into such historic attractions as the 16th-century St. Dominic's church, just recently renovated, the re-vamping of the facade of St. Paul's church and the building of the Macau History Museum.

"We don't want to lose our identity," said Henrique de Senna Fernandes, who is saddened by the prospect of the handover. "Macau could become a Chinese city. But Macau is Macau because of us, the mixture of two peoples, two cultures. To transform it into a Shenzhen or Guangzhou would be a tragedy."

The prospect of becoming a special administrative region has also injected the enclave with a kind of economic optimism. It is as though Macau has awoken from decades of lethargy as the casino capital of Asia to make a second play for success. Although gambling gave the enclave a slightly seedy reputation — triad violence hasn't helped — it has helped pay for the redevelopment and expansion of the enclave's infrastructure and attractions.

"Macau is about much more than gambling," says Joao Novikoff Sales of the government tourist office. "I think the casinos have been successful in attracting people to Macau. But now it's important to focus on the other things Macau has to offer."

In fact, Macau's small size belies the diversity of the enclave's attractions — and the enduring appeal of its relaxed,



The facade of St. Paul's church, in Portuguese Macau.

Mediterranean charm.

In the winding streets around the Largo do Senado, the enclave's lively main square, are colorful Portuguese-style terraced houses, European bakeries, Chinese apothecaries and shops selling everything from live snakes to dried beef.

CENTURIES-OLD temples and tranquil Chinese gardens rest a stone's throw away from elaborate Baroque churches and crumbling hill-top forts.

There are museums to visit, markets to explore and, when hunger strikes, plenty of cafés and restaurants to sample the enclave's famed cuisine.

Macau even has a green side: The southern isles of Taipa and Coloane

boast rugged walking trails, sandy beaches and quiet villages for those hankering after some rural relaxation.

By the time the Portuguese flag is lowered, the old administration will have done all it can to entrench Macanese identity in Macau. But in 50, or even 100 years, will visitors still be charmed by its distinctly European feel?

"I think we will survive," Henrique de Senna Fernandes said. "The descendants of Portuguese have survived in many places in the world for centuries. You can find them in Malacca, in Sri Lanka. They have their own way of living and are different. I think we will be the same."

Katherine Tanko is a journalist who travels frequently in Asia.

A Battle for Control Enclave's Gangsters Cast a Pall

By Mark Landler
New York Times Service

MACAU — Pity the poor tourism officials who work for this vest-pocket Portuguese colony on the southeast coast of China. One year before it is handed over to China, Macau is eager to present itself as a destination for the discriminating traveler: a Mediterranean port on the South China Sea. But with gangs waging a bloody war over its lucrative gambling business, the enclave seems less a charming fusion of East and West than a lethal mix of East and Wild West.

Tourism officials acknowledge ruefully that the crime wave has scared away many visitors, most of whom come to Macau to gamble in its somewhat down-at-the-heel casinos. "Obviously, the incidents affect tourism," said Winnie Pau, the Hong Kong representative of the Macau government tourist office. "But if people are enjoying the tranquility of Macau, they won't go out on the streets in the middle of the night, when these incidents occur."

Pau said no tourists had been affected by the violence. That did not stop the Foreign Ministry of Taiwan from issuing an advisory urging its citizens to exercise caution when visiting Macau. Taiwan put out the warning in September, after 15 people were wounded in bomb blasts in central Macau that were aimed at police and news organizations. The gang wars have subsided a bit since, though a Hong Kong businessman was kidnapped recently and held in the colony.

The mayhem in Macau threatens to overshadow the transfer to China, set for Dec. 19, 1999. But while Macau's change of sovereignty is not likely to draw the same worldwide attention as Hong Kong's last year, in some ways it will be a more historic milestone: When Portugal relinquishes this territory of 502,000 people, it will be the last European colonial power to decamp from Asia.

Portuguese seafarers established Macau in 1557 — 285 years before Britain signed the lease for Hong Kong. And unlike Hong Kong, Macau has preserved its European ambience.

From the Largo do Senado, its magnificent oblong-shaped town square, to Sao Paulo, a church that burned down in 1831, leaving only a richly detailed facade, Macau is laden with architectural treasures. The Portuguese administration has restored many of these sites to their original splendor, and it recently opened a remarkably accessible museum chronicling the colony's history.

"People throughout Macau are desperately looking for ways to perpetuate our uniqueness," said Fok Kai Cheong, a professor at the University of Macau, who spoke at a recent architecture symposium.

Sadly, Macau owes its Old World atmosphere mostly to the fact that the modern world left it behind. After thriving as a trading post during the 18th and 19th centuries, Macau began to lose ground to Hong Kong, which was blossoming into the commercial and financial hub of East Asia.

By the 20th century, Macau had become a backwater. But in the last 30 years, it has refashioned itself as a mecca for gamblers from Hong Kong. Today, Macau's most popular landmarks are its casinos and gambling generates 68 percent of Macau's tourism revenue, with the rest coming from sightseers.

The casinos have become the prizes in a ferocious tug-of-war between gangs from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China. Law-enforcement officials say the gangsters are trying to stake claims to the casinos before the Chinese government takes control.

Although the gangsters tend to restrict their attacks to each other or to the Portuguese authorities, their mere presence casts a shadow. At the Hotel Lisboa, a gaudy wedding-cake edifice that is Macau's flagship casino, police officers patrol outside the entrance with automatic weapons.

MAKING HEADWAY Portuguese officials say they are making headway in the battle against the gangs. They point out that in the first 10 months of 1998, Macau actually had fewer homicides than in the same period last year: 22 versus 25. In May, the police arrested Wan Kuak-Koi, a 43-year-old Chinese who is reputed to be Macau's most powerful gang leader. Also known as Broken Tooth Koi, Wan is now in an isolated prison cell on a tiny island off the enclave.

As the handover nears, the Chinese government has become more assertive in helping Macau combat crime. Beijing recently announced that it would station soldiers in the colony after the reversion — a move that has left the departing Portuguese authorities distinctly uneasy.

Meanwhile, Macau is forging ahead with plans for the change in government. But unlike Hong Kong, which mounted a dazzling fireworks and laser show, Macau will keep things small, with a single day of festivities. "We want to have a cozy, cultural event," said Pau, the tourism official, "rather than a glamorous, magnificent event that costs millions of dollars."

Can Less Be More? Getting Smart in the City

By Gavin Green

MERCEDES-BENZ has taken so much flak in the last year that it's a wonder its bosses don't turn up for press conferences wearing combat fatigues. First, the A-class, the revolutionary "baby car." And, more recently, the Smart car, an even smaller and more radical city car that got the same sort of warm and affectionate welcome from the motoring critics that Agamemnon got when he visited Troy.

Too cramped, too expensive, too stodgy to drive, too rough-riding. And

The Car Column

all this vitriol directed at a company — Mercedes-Benz — hitherto regarded as the world's most competent car engineering firm.

Not that the Smart car program was Mercedes' idea, at least not in the first place. Nicolas Hayek, the boss of Swatch, the watch people, wanted to make a small, stylish, environment-friendly city car. He spoke to a number of car companies, including Volkswagen, about collaboration.

VW thought the idea was financial suicide. "Why would anyone pay more for a two-seater micro car than they would for a four-seater small car?" asked VW's boss, Ferdinand Piech. After conceding the majority stake to Mercedes, Hayek's involvement was

reduced until, last month, Mercedes took over the project completely.

Yet the Swatch legacy lives on. The Smart car, a two-seater, comes in bright colors and — as with Swatch straps — you can change the plastic exterior panels when you tire of them. Or, more likely, give the car's city million, when they get scratched. The cabin, too, is as bright as a bag of candy and the quality of the trim is a cut or two above what you'd expect in a Fiesta or a Punto.

Unlike most cars, which are designed to be all things to all people, the Smart is a specialized vehicle. It is designed for the city. It is not meant for the freeway or winding country roads or for hauling four hefty people to a ski resort in winter. It is assumed that customers will own other cars for the long haul.

This city-car has given the engineers a wonderfully focused brief. The car had to be as small as possible because city cars should be easy to park and should help reduce congestion.

The upshot is that the Smart is the smallest production car ever, noticeably shorter than that old micro champ, the Mini.

Its engine is under the trunk, above the rear wheels. No hood is necessary, saving length. Nor does it have rear seats, but in town most cars rarely seat more than two people. There is no clutch pedal because in traffic, clutch pedals are a nuisance. The Smart has a motorcycle-style sequential gearshift, with an automatic clutch.

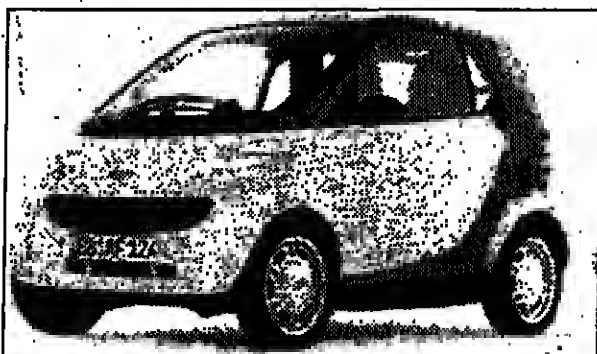
The little car is a buzz to drive. Shift-

ing gears is blissfully easy without a clutch to juggle, and the little three-cylinder turbo engine, growing behind your back, delivers a strong kick. It accelerates strongly to 60 kph (38 mph) — up to city driving pace — but becomes more breathless after that. Top speed is 135 kph, but the car is more comfortable at lower velocities. The engine sounds great too — like a powerful motorcycle.

The ride is not good, more rattled rug than magic carpet. And the steering wheel requires far more twirling than you'd think, which can make the Smart feel cumbersome.

The final drawback is the car's tendency, at speed, to understeer or lose road-holding ability at the front. This is not a problem in town, but can limit speeds if you wander outside the car's natural domain.

Around town, though, it's fabulous. I loved it, and so did just about everybody else who saw it. I have never driven a car that created more interest. Is the cost — roughly the same money as for a low-specification Ford Ka or a Volkswagen Lupo — too much? Not when you look at its quality of construction, and its excellence in town.



Despite the criticism, one senses that the public mood is starting to swing toward Mercedes.

A once stolid company is now winning a reputation as a funky, cool car-maker, helped by the youthfulness of the A-class and the Smart. The flak seems to have done Mercedes some good. Anyway, isn't combat gear all the fashion just now?

• Smart City Coupe. About \$11,000. Three-cylinder, 599cc, turbocharged engine, rear-mounted. Maximum power 54 hp at 5,250 rpm. Six-speed sequential transmission, rear-wheel drive. Top speed: 135 kph (84 mph). Acceleration: 0-100 kph in 17.2 seconds. Average fuel consumption: 5.0 liters/100 kilometers.

Next: Volvo S80

Gavin Green is editor in chief of Car magazine.

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New Zealand	001-800-555-0111	001-800-555-0111	001-800-555-0111
South Africa	001-800-555-0111	001-800-555-0111	001-800-555-0111
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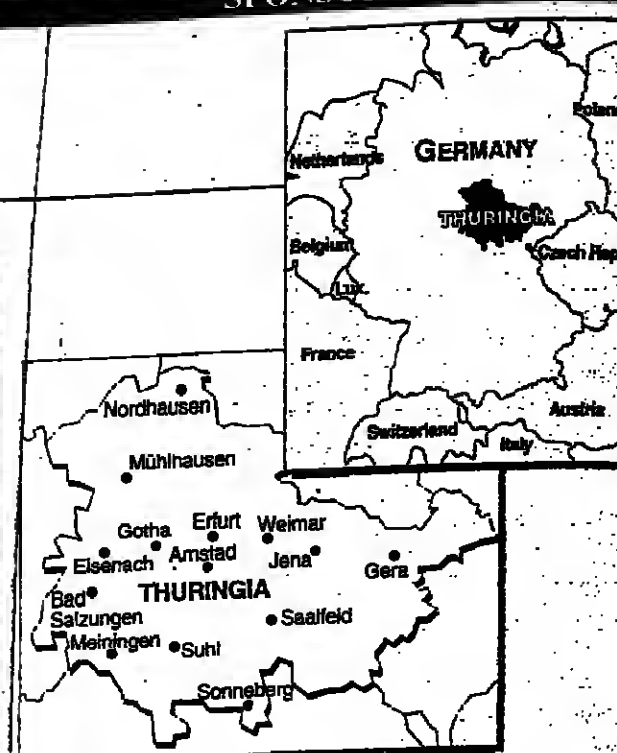
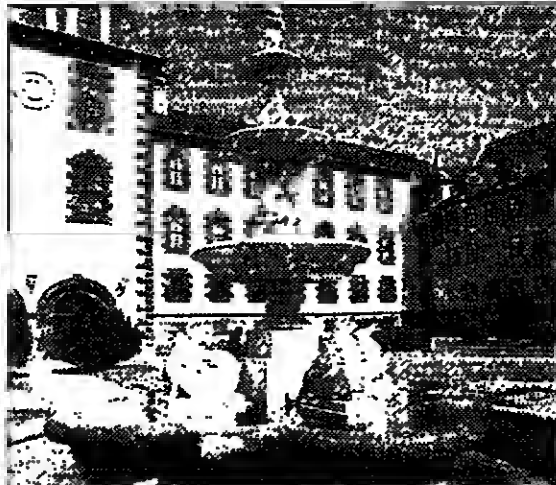
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THURINGIA

Thuringia's manufacturing and high-tech industries are having a banner year, and their success is expected to stimulate the rest of the economy in the state, located in central Germany. The state expects many visitors next year, when Weimar will be Europe's cultural capital. Views of Thuringia (clockwise from top left): Arnstadt, Eisenach, Weimar, Jena and Meiningen.



THE THREE SISTERS OF THURINGIA

Jena is known for high-tech; Weimar is a cultural capital; Erfurt is a model of urban redevelopment.

Heading west-to-east, first comes Erfurt, then 20 kilometers (12 miles) later, Weimar. A further 20 kilometers is Jena. Each of these central Thuringian cities is basking in a wave of media attention and commendation.

"Cluster-building" is the current buzzword in economic development circles, and no city has done it better in eastern Germany than Jena, along with Dresden. Centered around the renaissance Jenoptik, indisputably the most successful high-tech company in the east, this small city of 102,000 people has become one of Germany's main centers of innovation in biotech, optoelectronics, microelectronics and M/R (measurement/regulation).

Weimar, Europe's cultural capital for 1999, will host a year-long string of galas and festivals. For more than 200 years, since Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's arrival in the city in 1775, the world's cultivated have been making the pilgrimage to Weimar, which has also been home to Schiller, Kandinsky, Klee, Gropius and other luminaries.

Erfurt is often cited as a role model for urban redevelopment in eastern Germany. It is widely praised for having lovingly restored and revived the Altstadt, its vast historic downtown, and for having provided a satisfactory supply of sites to investors. The state's capital has established itself as Thuringia's prime venue for trade fairs and congresses.

None of the cities is totally satisfied with the gist of the praise. Weimar's representatives point out that their city is more than cultural center, that it also has a thriving high-tech business community.

Erfurt points to its own successful exercises in cluster-building — its focus is microelectronics — and its long and illustrious cultural history.

Jena is proud of its restored half-timbered houses and market squares. The city's message: it's more than a huge research and development facility.

Other Thuringian cities, although noteworthy, have drawn less attention. Among the state's unsung success stories is Ilmenau, 30 kilometers south of Erfurt. Recently ranked number one among Germany's schools of engineering by newsweekly Der Spiegel (and number six in all of Europe), the city's Technical University rivals Jena's as a source of new, market-making products.

The university forms the nucleus of a campaign, managed by LEG Thuringen, the state's business development corporation, to cultivate new microelectronics, life sciences and image-processing companies.

Also worthy of note is Eisenach, the largest net recipient of inward investment in the state. The arrivals of Opel, BMW, Lear, Bosch and other companies have triggered the formation of a major agglomeration of locally owned automotive suppliers and subcontractors.

INDUSTRY LEADS THE WAY TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

Thuringia, the green land of Goethe, Schiller and the Bauhaus, is orchestrating a transformation led by its industrial sector.

Thuringia's industrial sector is growing by leaps and bounds. The challenge facing the German state is translating the success of the manufacturing sector to the rest of Thuringia's economy.

At the end of October, Thuringia achieved a drop in the unemployment rate of 4.1 percentage points to 13.4 percent. It was the largest month-to-month fall ever recorded by a German state. The drop was accompanied by other good news: a rate of economic growth nearly 50 percent above the average of former East German states and the region's highest share of exports.

Bernhard Vogel, the state's prime minister, knows where this growth comes from. "Our manufacturing sector is modern. It's the engine of economic development in Thuringia," he stated in a recent interview with the daily Süddeutsche Zeitung.

The economy's engine As of September 30, the total value of new orders secured by Thuringia's manufacturers was up 21 percent over the previous year. The best-performing industrial group was capital goods, up 25 percent. Also showing strong rises were manufacturers' sales, up 13 percent.

1998's results come on the heels of a 12.2 percent net rise in output in 1997 by Thuringia's manufacturers, the highest among Germany's 16 states.

"Equally gratifying is the mix of products issuing from our manufacturing facilities," says Reinhold Stanitzek, speaker of the board of management of LEG Thuringen, the state's business development corporation. "It's made up of automobiles, microelectronics facilities, biotech devices and other state-of-the-art products. The mix is as advanced as that of any state in Germany — or any region in Europe," he adds.

Private money flowing in The state's industrial upswing has been produced by a massive amount of private sector investment — some 8 billion Deutsche marks (\$4.85 billion) between 1990 and 1997, according to the state's ministry of economic affairs and infrastructure. While the total annual amount of investment has stayed relatively constant over the years, the size of the individual outlays has declined.

The early 90s were the era of the historically sized capital outlays, led by the 3.6 billion Deutsche marks provided by the public sector to restructure Jenoptik and the 1 billion Deutsche marks spent by Opel in its new facility in Eisenach. Today's invest-

ments are generally smaller, says Mr. Stanitzek, who finds this entirely logical.

Flourishing SMEs "Thuringia's new-look economy features a predominance of companies from the Mittelstand [the German term for small and medium-sized enterprises]. Like calls to like. Thus, it's not surprising that the companies now flocking to the state are also generally from the Mittelstand," he says.

"Attracting them, in addition to our relatively low costs of well-educated labor and fully developed sites and other classic advantages, is their well-founded belief that Thuringia has the essentials allowing them to further develop and deploy their stock of technologies," Mr. Stanitzek concludes.

The state's overall performance hasn't been quite as good as that of its manufacturing sector. In 1997, Thuringia's gross domestic product rose 2.4 percent, second-best among Germany's eastern states.

State business development authorities expect a multiplier effect from the success of manufacturers, whom they see as a dependable source of demand for services and structures. The demand will rejuvenate Thuringia's service sector as well as its hard-pressed construction companies.

A recent survey conducted by the Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft, a business-research organization in Cologne, revealed that a large majority of Thuringia's manufacturers expect their business to further improve in 1999.

Wide range of specialties According to Mr. Stanitzek, Thuringia has two prime business assets. "There are very few sectors in which our state's business community is not well-established and well-regarded," he says.

"Virtually all of our communities have advanced technological specialties. In addition to Jena, Eisenach and other high-profile cities, these communities include Unterweilborn and its steel industry. Rudolstadt-Schwarzach's chemical manufacturers and the ceramics producers in Hermersdorf," Mr. Stanitzek adds.

As he sees it, this range of sectors gives the state the ability and flexibility to exploit new opportunities, no matter where they arise.

Mr. Stanitzek's corporation has facilitated the development of this geographic and sectoral range of activity. Founded in 1992, LEG Thuringen was given an ambitious brief by the state government: to develop, sell and

Continued on page 13

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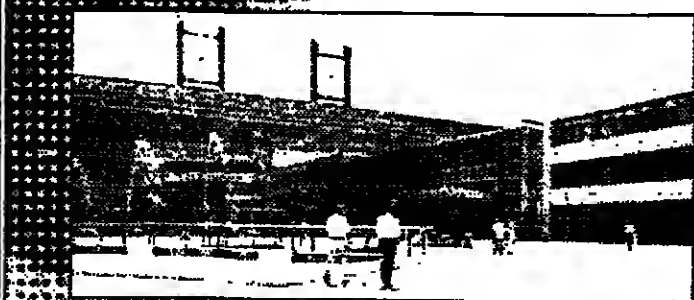
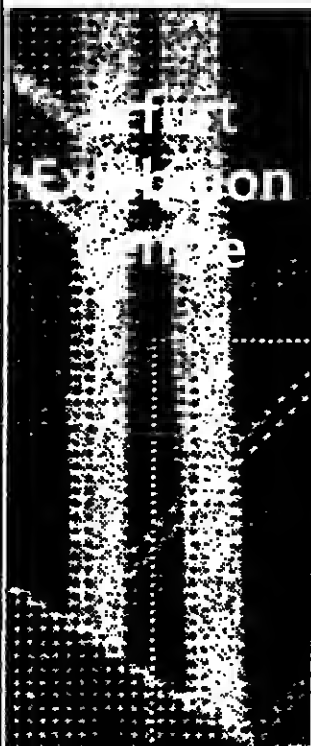


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THROUGH THE WOODED HILLS

Farmers and food processors should profit from new, fast transport links.

Fortune gave Thuringia a great location, smack dab in the middle of Germany. Topography, in the form of the state's many forested hills, precluded the state's business community from fully benefiting from the location. The hills made it expensive to build and extend autobahns and express rail lines.

Not that the forested hills aren't an economic asset. Thanks to the hills and their hiking and cross-country skiing trails, the state does a nice, four-season tourism business.

After the reunification of Germany, money became available for the transport links. Thuringia's two existing autobahns have been completely upgraded, and three new stretches are being completed, as is a rapid-rail line. The price tag is 2 billion

Deutsche marks (\$1.2 billion) a year, says Franz Schuster, Thuringia's minister of economic affairs and infrastructure.

The prime beneficiaries of these new and improved links are Thuringia's farms and the food-processing sector they supply.

The sector is one of the great success stories of both Thuringia and eastern Germany. The food-processing sector's turnover has increased 57 percent between 1991 and 1998. Thanks to the 1.3 billion Deutsche mark investments in new production and processing facilities made by its some 200 companies and facilitated by public sector support, productivity nearly doubled over the period.

Since 1993, the sector has also created a net 2,000 jobs, generally in small, rural communities suffering high rates of unemployment.

Today, according to Volker Sklenar, Thuringia's agriculture minister, the food-processing sector's eight years of growth have made it the state's largest single business sector. It's also a major exporter, with 12.3 percent of its sales being earned outside Germany.

Mr. Sklenar sees pent-up demand and a full-scale marketing campaign as the sources of the sector's success. As he points out, Thuringia's *Wurst* (sausage), potato and vegetable-based specialties had long been household names throughout Germany. Today, some 486 kinds of agricultural products from 1,434 companies bear the appellation "Original Thuringian quality," the phrase the state's campaign is using to brand its products.

USEFUL INFORMATION AND ADDRESSES

Thuringia
Area: 16,171 square kilometers (6,244 square miles)
Population: 2.5 million
Capital: Erfurt (204,000)
Other major cities:
Gera (125,000)
Jena (102,000)

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"THURINGIA" was produced in its entirety by the Advertising Department of the International Herald Tribune. It was sponsored by the display advertisers and LEG Landesentwicklungsgesellschaft Thüringen mbH.
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What's the

محمد عبد الله

Nasdaq and Hong Kong Market Set Alliance

By Mitchell Martin and Philip Segal
International Herald Tribune

Taking a step toward 24-hour global stock trading, the National Association of Securities Dealers and the Stock Exchange of Hong Kong announced an alliance Thursday that will include the cross-listing of shares starting next year.

About 10 Hong Kong stocks will be listed on the Nasdaq system and the American Stock Exchange, both of which are run by the association, and a roughly equal number of U.S. equities will be offered to Hong Kong investors in the initial phase of the alliance.

"It's only a beginning," said Frank Zarb, the NASD chairman, who announced the alliance in New York.

Specific issues to be listed were not revealed, but Mr. Zarb said they would not necessarily be the biggest names. Many leading Hong Kong companies are available to U.S. investors in the form of American depositary receipts, in which the stock is held by a bank in Hong Kong and a certificate representing the shares is traded in the United States.

"We are not stuck with the cur-

rent universe," Mr. Zarb said.

Stocks would have to meet requirements of the appropriate exchange for cross-listing, he added, and there would have to be "commercial reasons" behind the initial choices, such as companies with significant operations in the other economy.

Direct listings are preferable to depositary receipts for several reasons, among them direct payment of dividends. Dividends on ADRs must be transferred by the depositary institution. Overseas holders of U.S.-listed stocks, meanwhile, are subject to a 30 percent dividend withholding and must file U.S. tax returns in order to reclaim it.

As the cross-listing idea grows, Mr. Zarb said, trading in ADRs is likely to diminish.

Mr. Zarb has previously said he wants to create a global financial network, and the association has been talking to Deutsche Boerse. He said Thursday that those negotiations were continuing and that they now include the London Stock

Exchange, with which the German market has already forged an alliance.

For the association, which this year took over the American and Philadelphia stock exchanges, this internationalist approach is a way to compete with the New York Stock Exchange, which has had more success in attracting listings of major companies from overseas.

The Hong Kong exchange, meanwhile, is locked in a battle with the Singapore exchange, which is challenging its status as the premier Asian market outside of Tokyo. But Mr. Zarb indicated that Singapore was one of the other international exchanges with which the association has had contacts.

The embrace of an international alliance marks a major change for the traditionally provincial Hong Kong exchange, which just last month threatened legal action against anyone providing stock prices that would support a new Hong Kong derivatives contract listed in Singapore.

The Internet proved to be Hong Kong's undoing, after the owner of the index on which the derivative was based, Morgan Stanley International,

posted the formula for the index on the Internet for anyone to use.

After the Hong Kong government abandoned it in the fight over the index, the exchange began almost immediately to talk about moving toward 24-hour trading, followed by the cross-listing announcement Thursday.

In New York, Lee Hon Chiu, chairman of the Hong Kong exchange, said it was "natural" for the two markets to compete. When asked what advantages his exchange offered, Mr. Lee said, "You have to visit Singapore and Hong Kong to make your own assessment on social and economic freedoms." He added, "Most people don't understand Singapore, and they don't understand Hong Kong."

As Mr. Zarb noted, one attraction to the Hong Kong exchange is that it provides a "window" to trading with China. He plans to visit China in January, he added.

Mr. Lee said that one or two Chinese companies were likely to be included in the initial batch of cross-listed stocks.

The cross-listing plan would make it easier for investors to buy overseas shares, but on-line brokerage firms have



Frank Zarb seeks a global network with ties to Frankfurt and London.

already reduced the difficulty. As well, trading outside of regular exchange hours is already available to professional investors via such services as Reuters PLC's Instinet. Some individuals can also gain access to these services through their brokerage accounts.

Electronic trading and other technological advances have put pressure on the traditional stock exchanges to reduce costs and offer new services. Along with the cross-listing plan, See NASDAQ, Page 19

U.S. Holiday Shoppers Log On In Turnaround, Gift Purchases Over the Net Soar This Season

By Mark Leibovich and Leslie Walker
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON—Internet commerce is finally starting to yield results to match its hype.

New surveys show that American consumers are changing their holiday shopping habits and, with just one week until Christmas, are making on-line purchases at levels that exceed estimates.

Amid such indications of on-line shopping strength, shares of several Internet commerce giants jumped Wednesday.

America Online Inc. reported that 750,000 subscribers made their first on-line purchase during the past two weeks, and its stock climbed \$3.25 to close at \$36. It continued to climb on Thursday and closed with a gain of \$3 at \$39.1875.

Shares of Amazon.com Inc., an on-line bookseller, rose a staggering \$46.25 on Wednesday to close at \$289 after one Wall Street analyst said the stock would reach \$400 in the next 12 months. On Thursday, it fell \$7 to close at \$282.

While stores and malls say it is too soon to tell whether their sales have been hurt by Internet commerce, on-line retailers in the United States are reporting a virtual stampede of shoppers onto their World Wide Web sites.

Recent surveys show that about one-third of Internet users have made purchases on-line in the past, but retailers say that number is rising rapidly this holiday season—fueled by a flurry of media attention to

electronic retailing.

The number of people visiting Web retailers rose nearly 80 percent in the second week of December, according to a survey of 40 top on-line stores by Media Matrix Inc., an Internet research group.

"It's going phenomenally well," said Judy Newman, who runs the on-line division of Eddie Bauer Inc. She said the clothing retailer has had record on-line shopping volume this season.

"We have an avalanche of brand-new customers," she said.

Traffic at Barnes & Noble Inc.'s Web site has surged 400 percent since early summer, company spokesman Ben Boyd said.

The on-line site has been attracting two kinds of shoppers, Mr. Boyd said. The first group prints out information on books from the site and then drives to the store for purchases. The second makes purchases on-line, taking advantage of the medium's convenience.

It is unclear how on-line sales are affecting traditional retailers because many store owners have recently added catalogs and Web sites—and many do not track which sales were made in the store and which were made electronically.

TelCheck Services Inc., a check acceptance company, said same-store sales—revenue at stores open more than a year—rose a moderate 4.4 percent on the day after Thanksgiving, compared with the same day in 1997. That is more in line with retail forecasts for the entire holiday shopping season.

On-line retailing still accounts for

only a small portion of total retail sales, according to the Direct Marketing Association of New York. While on-line sales are projected to more than double, to \$4.7 billion, this year, catalogue sales were estimated to reach \$87 billion and overall retail sales to total \$2.6 trillion.

Still, Internet commerce is gaining momentum, and Wall Street is taking notice.

Amazon.com was the talk of the investment world as its stock jumped 19 percent following a prediction by Henry Blodgett, a CIBC Oppenheimer & Co. analyst, that the on-line bookseller would double its sales in 12 months—after rocketing more than eightfold this year.

The Seattle-based company—which is still not profitable—boasts a market value of \$15.2 billion.

Amazon is expected to lose \$1.71 a share next year, compared with a loss of \$1.62 this year, according to a consensus estimate of analysts polled by First Call Corp.

In his research report, Mr. Blodgett said the number of orders logged on Amazon's Web site the day after Thanksgiving was four times higher than a year earlier. The company could generate annual revenue of \$10 billion and earnings of \$10 a share within the next five years, the analyst wrote.

Amazon's rival Books-A-Million Inc. also enjoyed a heady Wednesday. Even though on Thursday, Books-A-Million fell \$2.875 to \$15.25, the shares on Wednesday



Sharon Goldberger

Farm Exports Helped Shrink U.S. Trade Deficit in October

WASHINGTON—The trade deficit unexpectedly shrank by 1.2 percent in October from September, to \$14.2 billion, despite record imports, the Commerce Department said Thursday.

An increase in exports of farm products, primarily soybeans and wheat, helped offset a rise in imports of 2.2 percent, to \$93.8 billion. Exports of goods and services rose 2.8 percent, to \$79.6 billion, the department said.

The trade gap was the lowest since April.

Economists, looking at the impact of the Asian financial crisis on U.S. trade, had expected the deficit to expand to \$15.1 billion in October after narrowing in September to a revised \$14.37 billion deficit.

"Obviously, it was a better reading on the trade front than expected," said Kevin Flanagan, an economist with Morgan Stanley Dean Witter. "We would not expect this to be a renewed trend. The last two months are probably an anomaly in the trend toward higher deficits."

Even with the improvements in September and October, the overall deficit is still running at a record annual rate of \$167 billion, far above the gap last year of \$110.2 billion, as the Asian financial crisis continues to batter key parts of the American economy.

The politically sensitive deficit with Japan shot up to the highest level in more than two and a half years, while the deficit with China for the year continued to run at a record level.

Driving the deficit with Japan is the comparative strength of America's economy and the weakness of Japan's, which might start to improve next year. "Our exports to Japan in October were down about 7 percent, but back in June they were down 17.5 percent on the year," said Paul Kasriel, an economist at Bankers Trust Securities in Chicago.

"So the rate of decline is slowing. That's a

sign things are starting to stabilize there."

Weak growth in Asia has depressed demand and prices for key industrial goods and commodities, including steel and computer chips. The dollar's strength against the yen has further weighed on import prices, intensifying price competition in heavy industry, most notably steel. U.S. steel producers have filed several high-profile antidumping suits against Japanese and other steel-exporting nations in response.

Since March, American companies have laid off 198,000 manufacturing workers, reflecting a plunge in exports to Asia.

The trade deficit with Japan widened to \$5.97 billion from \$5.07 billion in September and was the highest since March 1995, the agency said. The deficit with China declined to \$5.54 billion from \$5.90 billion in September. Both exports to China and imports from China were records in the month, the department said.

The trade gap with the European Union nearly doubled in October, to \$3.24 billion, while the deficit with Canada expanded to \$2.24 billion from \$2.19 billion.

Despite the global turmoil, the overall U.S. economy has continued to be healthy. That fact was underscored by a second report Thursday from the Labor Department, showing that the number of Americans filing new applications for unemployment benefits dropped by 31,000 last week to a six-week low of 296,000.

The unexpected improvement in jobless claims highlighted that U.S. labor markets, despite the weakness in manufacturing, remain tight. The overall unemployment rate dipped to 4.4 percent in November, near a 28-year low. (Reuters, AP, Bloomberg)

How Are You? A Publisher Wants to Know It All

By Robert O'Harrow Jr.
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON—They are the sorts of questions you typically answer while waiting to see a doctor. Do you suffer from depression or infertility? Experience stress or menstrual pain? What about gastritis and nail fungus?

But this is no medical form. It is a survey of readers by Conde Nast Publications Inc., publisher of the New Yorker, Vanity Fair, Vogue and more than a dozen other upscale magazines.

Conde Nast, it seems, wants to know its subscribers better. Much better.

"What do you like? What do you want? Your answers to the questions that follow will allow us to target areas which interest you most and

help us be most rewarding to you," says the introduction to the Preferred Subscriber Network survey. "Just answer the questions below to start the conversation and become part of this select group of subscribers to whom marketers listen first."

It may seem odd that anyone would part with so much personal information, particularly when it is all going to be put into a giant database. After all, a new poll by Louis Harris & Associates Inc., on behalf of a non-profit research group called Privacy & American Business, found that almost 9 of 10 adults are concerned about privacy.

But guess what: Almost 400,000 people have responded since the eight-page booklet began going out with magazines in May.

The apparent success of the survey highlights an ugly truth about the roll-

ing privacy debate in America. Even as people fret about corporate intrusiveness, they often willingly, even eagerly, part with intimate details about their lives.

"It's impotence and all kinds of things they don't tell anybody," said Edward Nash, a marketing consultant and author of "Database Marketing: The Ultimate Marketing Tool."

"People tell us all kinds of things they wouldn't tell their neighbors."

With more than 700 boxes to check, the Conde Nast survey asks for people's names and particulars about smoking, drinking, hobbies and shopping.

It asks subscribers for the make, model and year of their cars, the kinds of computers they own and details about how they cruise the Internet. And it asks about subscribers' in-

tentions with regard to marriage, having a baby and becoming a grandparent. Those getting married are urged to say when ("Please write in month, date and year in numeric format").

On Page 5, readers will find questions about 25 health-related matters, everything from "Acne/skin problems" to "Vaginal/yeast infection," all in alphabetical order. Also included are queries about drugs. The survey asks, "For which conditions do you or someone else in your household take prescribed medication?"

The survey intentionally sidesteps disconcerting questions about one's financial matters. That is because Conde Nast, like most other companies, can easily buy such data from information services and add it to the

See CONDE, Page 19

CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES														
Dec. 17														
Cross Rates	\$	£	DM	¥	HK\$	NT\$	₹	₪	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹
Australia	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Canada	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
France	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Germany	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Italy	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Japan	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
South Africa	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Switzerland	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
U.K.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
U.S.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Other Dollar Values														
Argentina	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Brazil	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Canada	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Chile	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Colombia	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Czech Rep.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Danish Kr.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Deutsche Mark	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Dracma	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Escudo	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Florin	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Forint	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Frank	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Guarani	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Indian Rupee	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Israeli Sheq.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Japanese Yen	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Leone	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Malaysian Ring.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Mexican Pes.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Monetary Unit	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Peruvian Sol	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Romanian Lei	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Russian Rub.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Slovak Kor.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Slovenian T.	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Taiwan Dollar	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Thai Baht	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Turkish Lira	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
U.S. Dollar	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
U.S. Dollar Index	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32
Yen	1.36	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32	1.32

Oil Prices Slide Despite Attack

Bloomberg News

NEW YORK — Oil prices plunged 11 percent Thursday, the biggest one-day drop since the start of the 1991 Gulf War, as military strikes against Iraq avoided petroleum installations.

Oil exports are flowing from Iraq, the United Nations said, adding to abundant global supplies. January crude oil fell \$1.38, or 11 percent, to \$11.00 a barrel on the New York Mercantile Exchange, the biggest one-day drop since January 17, 1991.

Crude prices jumped more than 7 percent Wednesday on concern that the strikes against Iraq could disrupt exports.

Saudi Arabian, Venezuelan and Mexican oil ministers ended a meeting Thursday in Madrid, reaffirming their commitment to existing output cuts without announcing any plans to deepen them.

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INTERNATIONAL INVESTING

The Rank and File of NASD Rebels

Smaller Brokerages Challenge Leadership Over Board and Costs

By Gretchen Morgenson
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — As head of the National Association of Securities Dealers, an organization that oversees some 5,600 member brokerage firms, Frank Zarb's domain is already plenty big. But he wants his to become the world's No. 1 market for stocks, so he has recently acquired the American Stock Exchange and the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, and is talking about Nasdaq alliances with the main stock markets in Germany and Hong Kong.

There is just one problem. Back home at the very grass roots of his organization, Mr. Zarb is having trouble putting out a little brushfire.

Many owners of the smaller brokerage firms that make up the lion's share of NASD members are angered by a lack of representation, and they are threatening to loosen the stranglehold that large firms like Merrill Lynch & Co., PaineWebber and Goldman, Sachs & Co. have on the association's rule-making board and its operations.

For the first time in the association's 60-year history, the election for seats on the board of governors is being contested. On one side is the official slate, selected by the NASD's nominating committee. It includes former President Gerald Ford and James F. Thompson, former president of Travelers Group Inc.

Opposing in the election Monday is a slate of four unknowns, put up by associations of small brokerage firms.

While other NASD elections have been non-events, this time throngs of small brokerage firms — those with 100 or fewer employees but which make up 91 percent of the membership — are up in arms. They say they have become increasingly disenfranchised, even discriminated against by an organization whose board is dominated by executives from large, household-name brokerages. Believing they are overregulated and underrepresented, the small firms want more say in the oversight process.

"The NASD is an organization that is resistant to change," said Alan Davidson, president of the Independent Broker Dealer Association and of Zeus Securities, a one-office firm in Jericho, New York, that specializes in bonds. He

is also the force behind the independent slate of candidates. "They have betrayed the bulk of their membership."

This David vs. Goliath story might be of no concern to the investing public but for one thing. Smaller broker-dealers, the association's roots, perform several important functions. They help small companies that are shunned by big firms raise capital so they can grow and create jobs. Furthermore, many of these smaller brokers make markets in shares of obscure local companies, providing liquidity to investors trading the shares.

"It is in the public interest that smaller firms be given the chance to survive and prosper," said Lewis Lowenfels, a prominent securities lawyer in New York who represented floor brokers of the American Stock Exchange in its combination this year with the association. "The NASD was built in large part on the entrepreneurship of smaller firms and must be particularly sensitive to the needs of these firms as it builds and expands its global empire."

That is exactly what Mr. Zarb has been doing all year, counters Michael Jones, chief administrative officer of the association. "To say Frank has been aggressively pursuing and implementing the inclusion of small firms would be an understatement," he said.

Evidence of this happened this year when the board reserved one seat for a smaller broker-dealer. The association also formed the Small Firm Advisory Board to address the concerns of the constituents. That panel is headed by Carl Sherr, who runs his own small firm in Worcester, Massachusetts.

But Mr. Sherr is no outsider. He was chairman of the association in 1984 and has frequently sat on arbitration panels assembled by the regulator. He is also chairman of a district committee.

"He is supposed to be our representative," Mr. Davidson said. "But he's one of them, not one of us."

Jim Nelson runs Minnesota Valley Investors, a full-service brokerage in Redwood Falls, Minnesota, that has seven registered representatives. "What bothers me is the lack of input asked for from small firms," he said.

Since 1993, association members have not been permitted to vote on rule changes made by the board. The as-

sociation argued that sending out rule changes to an enormous membership was becoming too costly and inefficient. But to smaller broker-dealers, this was proof that their input was unwelcome. It meant that the acquisition of the American Stock Exchange, which was put to a vote of the AmEx members, was not approved by a vote of association member firms.

Mr. Davidson said: "The NASD owns and operates a television studio, sponsors the Super Bowl, has plenty of money for a multimillion-dollar sign in Times Square, but it doesn't want to spend 32 cents to mail members their own rule changes."

Smaller firms are also deeply concerned about increasingly stiff fees and fines for even the most minor infractions. Joseph Mays Jr., president of Securities Consulting Group in New York, advises smaller securities-firm clients and was a compliance examiner at the association from 1982 to 1987.

"In the past, some rule violations would have not been considered finable," he said. "Now, they're looking for ways to catch firms in minor rule violations so they can put a dollar sign on the examination. They're turning the membership into a profit center."

For example, critics cite the association's approach to overcoming the year 2000 computer bug. Many smaller firms, clear their clients' mutual funds, handle no customer money securities and may not even have a computer. Understanding this, the Securities and Exchange Commission suggested exempting them from computer compliance surveys.

But the association instead sent all firms a 19-page form to fill out. Many tiny firms replied late. In the past, that probably would have been overlooked. This time the association has moved to enforce the rules and impose fines of \$2,500, or roughly half the amount many of them have in net capital.

Dues and incidental fees imposed on members have also jumped in the past three years, far in excess of inflation. The minimum annual fee is \$1,200, but with add-ons a small firm could be charged \$3,000 while a much larger firm might wind up paying only \$4,000.

Mr. Jones said the regulator's costs have risen as the industry has grown.



Alan Davidson, a leader of small brokerages and critic of NASD.

NASDAQ: Hong Kong Alliance

Continued from Page 15

which is to be formed up during the first quarter of 1999 and take effect later in the year, the exchanges also announced a joint Web site that allows investors in track portfolios of Hong Kong and U.S. stocks, as well as American mutual funds and options, in U.S. or Hong Kong dollars.

The site is available in a test version at www.porttrackers.nasdaq-sehk.com with prices from the previous trading day, though once it comes into full production it will provide prices with a one-hour delay for Hong Kong and a 15- to 30-minute delay for U.S. securities.

Seven securities dealers are involved in the architecture and implementation of the cross listings, Mr. Zarb said. The American participants, he said, are Goldman, Sachs & Co., Merrill Lynch & Co., Morgan Stanley Dean Winer & Co. and Citigroup Inc.'s Salomon Smith Barney unit.

Mr. Lee said Bank of China, HSBC Holdings PLC and Jardine Fleming Group were the others.

The cross-listed stocks will trade in the currency of the host exchange during its regular hours.

Because the Hong Kong dollar is essentially linked to the U.S. dollar, exchange-rate fluctuations do not play a large part in trading decisions for investors in either market who buy and sell in the other.

CONDE: Publisher's Survey Gets Personal

Continued from Page 15

details they get directly from subscribers. "We get it from other sources, so I don't have to ask," said Stephen Jacoby, Conde Nast vice president for marketing and databases.

The Conde Nast survey is just one element of a rush by corporate America to collect data about customers. Companies sort through credit card records. They track groceries and greeting card purchases and just about everything bought on-line.

And, of course, they ask customers to give it to them in surveys — telephone calls, postcards that come with new products and the sort of tome issued by Conde Nast. They put all this data into zippy new computers to be parsed and analyzed in ways marketers only fantasized about a generation ago.

Surveys are far from perfect. Some people lie. But marketers still rely on them as a rich source of information. Many people fill out questionnaires honestly, in part because they want to tell somebody about themselves.

"It's a release. Sometimes they want to let something out," said Mr. Nash, adding that surveys sometimes also make people feel like they're a part of something interesting. In some cases, they simply want to get something in return from companies they have faith in. "They fill them out in get more mail."

Mr. Jacoby said the results from his survey show that people are not as worried about privacy as some claim — at least not when it comes to his company. Conde Nast magazines have combined

circulation of about 10 million. The surveys went out to subscribers who have renewed subscriptions two times or more.

The program encourages a sense of intimacy. In a "Dear New Yorker Subscriber" letter, Thomas Florio, the publisher, said readers who responded to the survey would be those "to whom we can turn first for a valued opinion about the products you see on our pages or for a first look when there is something sensational looming on the horizon."

But others were both angered and dazzled by the brassiness of Conde Nast's effort. Marvialice Hurst, a marketing consultant and database ethics specialist, said people forever lose control of bits of their lives when they fill out one of those surveys.

"They're doing it because their ego was stroked," said Ms. Hurst, former chairman of the Direct Marketing Association's ethics committee. "There's no way in God's green earth I would fill that out."

Ms. Hurst also blasted Conde Nast for not telling readers in more detail the value of their personal information, or how it will be used. "It is an absolute indicator of a total lack of ethics, a total lack of regard for their customers," she said. "The letter doesn't even begin to explain."

The company intends to use the responses in a program that connects readers and advertisers, including retailers, travel firms and cosmetic companies, as well as drug manufacturers that want to market directly in patients with particular ailments.

Swiss Parliament Vote Takes Toll on Gold Price

Blumhertz News

LONDON — Gold prices fell Thursday after Switzerland's lower house of Parliament backed a proposal to sell some of the country's gold reserves, renewing concern about a flood of gold sales by central banks worldwide.

The National Council agreed Thursday that Switzerland's constitution should no longer require gold to be held to back the currency, and approved a plan to sell as much as half the country's gold holdings.

The constitutional change still requires consent of the upper house and the Swiss electorate, however.

This just shows that central bank gold

sales are still "a smudge on the picture," said Andy Smith, an analyst at Mitsui & Co. in London. "There are more waiting to happen — it's not a question of if, but when."

Gold for immediate delivery dropped 30 cents Thursday to \$293.30 an ounce in London.

In late afternoon trading in New York, the price fell to \$290.10 an ounce, down 33.

The Swiss finance minister, Kaspar Villiger, said that the gold sales — if approved by the upper house and the electorate — are likely to begin after 2001 and will be gradual in order not to depress prices further.

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NASDAQ

Thursday's 4 P.M.
The 1,000 most traded National Market securities
in terms of dollar volume, updated twice a year.
The Associated Press

Stock	High	Low	Open	Close	Volume
IBM	125.25	124.75	125.00	125.00	1,200,000
Microsoft	55.00	54.50	54.75	54.75	1,100,000
Apple	45.00	44.50	44.75	44.75	1,000,000
Oracle	35.00	34.50	34.75	34.75	900,000
Amazon	25.00	24.50	24.75	24.75	800,000
Google	15.00	14.50	14.75	14.75	700,000
Yahoo	10.00	9.50	9.75	9.75	600,000
Alibaba	5.00	4.50	4.75	4.75	500,000
Facebook	3.00	2.50	2.75	2.75	400,000
Twitter	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.75	300,000

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Alibaba	5.00	4.50	4.75	4.75	500,000
Facebook	3.00	2.50	2.75	2.75	400,000
Twitter	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.75	300,000
LinkedIn	1.00	0.50	0.75	0.75	200,000
Slack	0.50	0.25	0.35	0.35	100,000
Zoom	0.25	0.15	0.20	0.20	50,000

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Employment
Hong Kong
Record

Asia

Very briefly:

Japan Steelmaker NKK
Plans to Trim 3,000 Jobs

Financial Progress

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ASIA/PACIFIC

Unemployment In Hong Kong Hits a Record

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HONG KONG—Hong Kong's unemployment rate rose to a record 5.5 percent in the three months to November as the city sank deeper into its worst recession in over a generation.

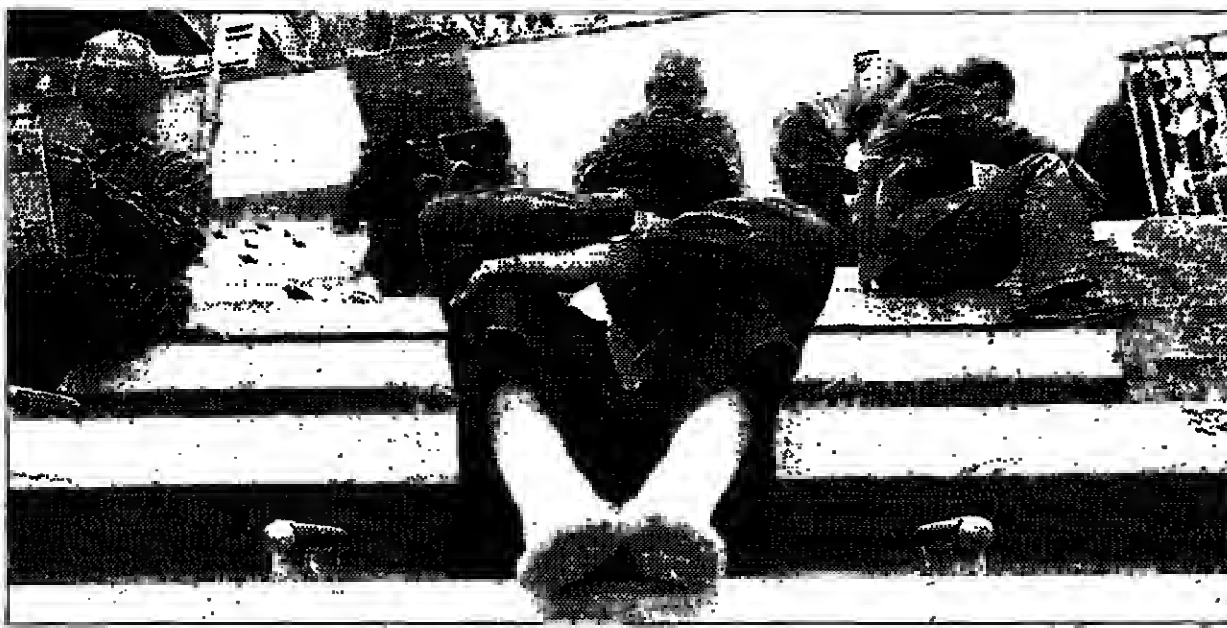
The unemployment rate for the August-to-October period was revised to 5.2 percent from 5.3 percent, the government said Thursday.

"The third and fourth quarters this year have been particularly rough and we expect the labor-shedding to continue," said David Shairp, an economist at Banque Paribas.

Gross domestic product shrank 7 percent in the third quarter and is expected to contract 5 percent for the full year.

"Give me the latest trends, it is likely that unemployment will remain at a relatively high level," said K. Y. Tang, a government economist. "When we see a clear recovery in the economy is not something which I can predict with any certainty at this point in time."

Economists expected a fresh wave of layoffs to hit the labor market after Chinese New Year in mid-February, and most forecast that unemployment would peak in the first or second quarter.



Men passing the time Thursday in a park in Hong Kong, where joblessness has risen to a record 5.5 percent.

"There are a lot of downsizing plans in the pipeline which have not been implemented," said Chi Lo, an HSBC economist. "Because it is just not the Chinese way to fire people before the Chinese New Year, we expect intensive firing and downsizing after the new year."

A Warburg Dillon Read economist, Rafael Wu, said he expected a substantial increase in unemployment in February, March and April. "These are the times when all the corporates are re-

viewing their annual budget," he said. The government plans to review its infrastructure spending programs in the next month in light of the new figures, said Joseph Wong, Hong Kong's secretary for education and manpower.

"There will be well over 100,000 new jobs created between the middle of this year and the end of next year," Mr. Wong said. "Spending in the public works program over the next five years will be almost twice the amount spent on the new airport." The airport,

which opened in July, cost \$20 billion. For Hong Kong's 6.7 million people, who are used to an economy that has grown by about 5 percent each year since 1991, the sudden rise in joblessness comes as a shock. Hong Kong people had become accustomed to having more jobs than people to fill them.

Even though the large declines in tourist arrivals and property prices, which fell by 55 percent in 13 months, have slowed, analysts expect the effect on employment to continue. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

Chaebol Give Banks Right To Oversee Restructuring

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL—Four of the five top family-run South Korean conglomerates signed corporate restructuring pledges with their creditors Thursday, putting their promises to paper for the first time.

The conglomerates, known as chaebol, signed Corporate Structure Improvement Plans with their main creditors, who are charged with making sure the groups stick to their pledges. If a conglomerate fails to keep to the terms, its credit will be cut off.

The Hyundai, Samsung, LG and SK groups announced their signings separately Thursday. Daewoo Group will sign an accord with its bankers Saturday, after its chairman, Kim Woo Choong, returns from an overseas trip.

"Our program covers detailed plans to sell specific assets and businesses to raise a certain amount of money by such and such a date," said Park Young Se, a Samsung director. He declined to elaborate, saying publicizing such details could hamper Samsung's negotiations with potential foreign investors.

Seoul had threatened to pressure the banks to reduce lending to the chaebol to prevent them from focusing on debt-leveraged business expansions.

Commercial Bank of Korea Ltd., Hanil Bank, Korea Exchange Bank and

Korea First Bank, major creditor banks of the five groups, will have the authority to check the progress of the restructuring programs each quarter. The chaebol have pledged to reduce their combined business units to 136 from 261 by 2000 through sales, swaps and liquidations.

Hyundai Group promised its major creditor bank, Korea Exchange, that it would lower its debt-to-equity ratio to 199.7 percent by the end of next year, compared with 578.7 percent last year. Samsung will lower its to 184 percent. Daewoo to 196 percent, LG to 199.8 percent and SK to 199.7 percent.

Moody's Investors Service Inc. warned Thursday that the chaebol's debts might prove too huge for banks to bear and that Seoul might have to share the burden. But the American agency did not alter its credit ratings for five South Korean banks, saying it viewed Seoul's yearlong economic reform drive "positively." (Bloomberg, Reuters, AFP)

3 Troubled Banks to Merge

Three indebted South Korean banks, Cho Hung Bank, Kangwon Bank Ltd. and Hyundai International Merchant Bank, said Thursday that they would merge to form a new institution with an expected \$2 billion in government capitalization. Agence France-Press reported.

Investor's Asia

Hong Kong	Singapore	Tokyo
Hang Seng	Straits Times	Nikkei 225
11000	1550	17000
10000	1400	16000
9000	1250	15000
8000	1100	14000
7000	950	13000
6000	800	12000
J A S O N D	J A S O N D	J A S O N D
1998	1998	1998
Exchange	Index	Thursday
		Close
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	10,063.31
Singapore	Straits Times	1,386.19
Sydney	All Ordinaries	2,746.00
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	14,726.99
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	542.78
Bangkok	SET	338.65
Seoul	Composite Index	528.89
Taipei	Stock Market Index	6,650.64
Manila	PSE	1,878.30
Jakarta	Composite Index	405.58
Wellington	NZSE-40	1,984.39
Bombay	Sensitive Index	2,864.44

Source: Reuters

International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

- China Airlines, Taiwan's largest carrier, tripled its 1998 pretax loss forecast to \$2.85 billion Taiwan dollars (\$88.4 million), blaming the Asian economic crisis and damage to its reputation following a crash earlier this year.
- BASF AG, Europe's biggest chemicals maker, and Royal Dutch/Shell Group plan to invest \$500 million in a Singapore joint venture to make styrene monomer and propylene oxide, two raw materials for plastic.
- The Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association said the nation's 11 automakers will sell 6.05 million cars, trucks and buses in 1999, compared with an estimated 5.9 million vehicles this year amid little sign that Japan's economy will pull out of its seven-year slump.
- Semb Corp Industries Ltd., Southeast Asia's biggest civil engineering and building construction group, plans to reshuffle its logistics units. It plans to sell ST Logistics to Sembawang Marine & Logistics Ltd. for 126 million Singapore dollars (\$76.6 million) as part of its plans to focus on key engineering and technology businesses.
- Shell Chemicals Ltd. said it remained committed to its project for an 800,000-ton-per-year ethylene plant in Nanhai, China, because it fitted into the Royal/Dutch Shell Group's restructuring plans. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

Japan Steelmaker NKK Plans to Trim 3,300 Jobs

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — The Japanese steelmaker NKK Corp. said Thursday it would cut 3,300 jobs, more than a fifth of its work force, as it struggles in the face of tough competition and a recession at home.

The steel and pipemaker said it would reassign or offer early retirement to 3,300 of its 15,300 employees by March 2000. The company will move 850 of those employees to new companies created from the parent company's existing operations.

NKK, the second-largest Japanese steel company after Nippon Steel Corp., has projected a group net loss of 109 billion yen (\$933.6 million) for the year to March. The company also said it would restructure some of its operations.

The firm is under pressure to speed up its rehabilitation program after its Toa Steel Co. subsidiary went under this year after earnings collapsed as demand for steel slowed and costs mounted.

Japanese steelmakers are seeing their earnings sink on poor demand from automakers and other customers as a result of recessions at home and elsewhere in Asia.

NKK posted a net loss of 30 billion yen on 456.8 billion yen in revenue in the half-year ended Sept. 30. In the same period one year earlier, it had a profit of 11.2 billion yen.

The Tokyo-based steelmaker will reorganize its Keihin, Toyama and Shimizu factories into new companies, the company said.

NKK shares fell 3 yen to 76 yen. (AFP, Bloomberg)

Tokyo Cites Economic Progress

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Massive government spending packages are having a positive impact on the economy, the Bank of Japan said Thursday, but the slump in the world's second-largest economy is far from over.

The decline in the nation's industrial production is slowing as companies reduce inventories of durable goods, and exports are rising, the central bank said in its monthly economic report for December. Public works spending from two government economic stimulus packages worth a combined 40 trillion yen (\$342.59 billion) will provide a foundation for growth in the fiscal year that begins April 1, the bank said.

But corporate spending was falling "significantly," housing investment was still sluggish and consumer spending was bleak, the central bank warned. The report reflects a minor improvement in the bank's diagnosis for an economy that has shrunk for four quarters. (AFP, Bloomberg)

Wherever in the World You Do Business... Open Up the Book and Open Up the West

Whether you're an established enterprise or an entrepreneur, Western America offers your business a wealth of opportunity. *Sunset*, the Magazine of Western Living, is your key to understanding and marketing to the distinctive lifestyle of this diverse and dynamic consumer and retail market. Now, using this comprehensive volume as your guide, you can gain access to 100 years of Western tastes, culture, history, and attitudes reflected in the pages of *Sunset*, the West's most venerable chronicle. In-depth essays and 11,000 bibliographical references to *Sunset* articles and books create an indispensable resource for discovering the "gold" in a booming region that represents one of the largest economies in the world.

The Great Outdoors

Sunset was an early advocate for the environment and the way Westerners experience and protect their region's wealth of natural resources. This volume offers access to a century of perspectives on the study and conservation of Western flora and fauna; water use and land planning; alternative forms of energy; national, state, and local parks; outdoor recreation; and more.

Travel Near and Far

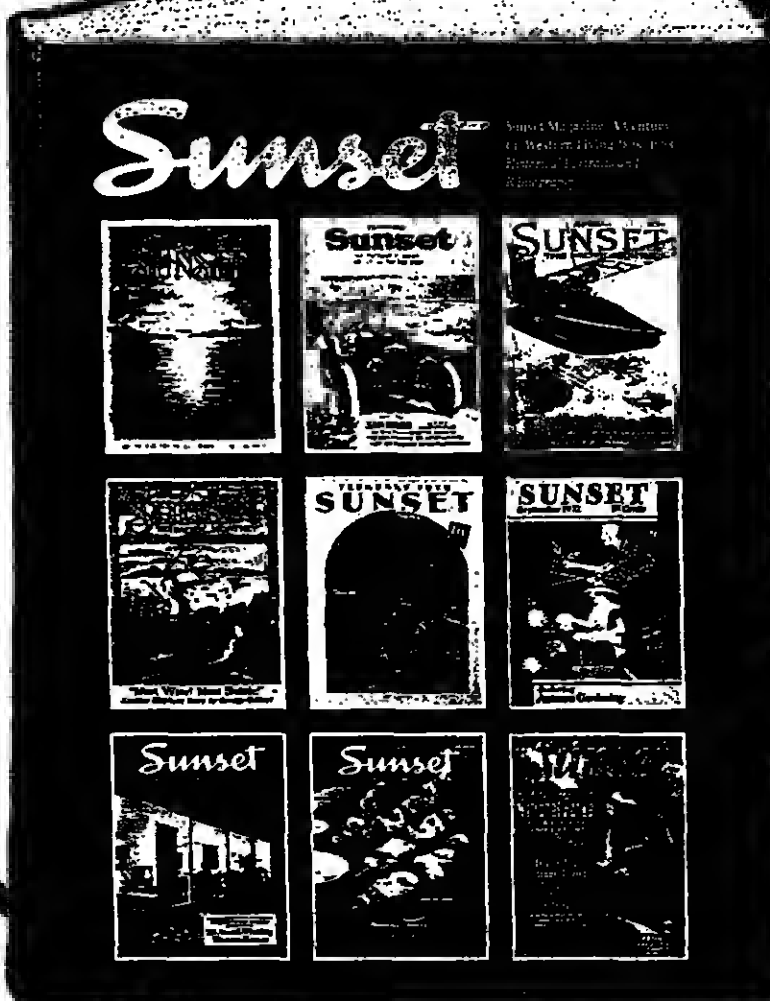
Sunset was first published to promote Western destinations. For a century, it has featured exciting big-city attractions, scenic resort areas, and, as a pioneer in ecotourism, places far from the crowds. Editors traveled the globe, but focused on the Far West, including Alaska, Hawaii, British Columbia, Mexico, and the Pacific Rim.

A Comprehensive Resource

Since 1898, *Sunset* has published more than 18,000 articles, columns, poems, and works of fiction. The chronological bibliography in this book cites 9,400 major *Sunset* articles, and lists more than 900 *Sunset* Books titles, editions, and reprints. Entries providing author, title, volume and page number, and publication date are arranged chronologically in 10 categories and many subcategories. Use this resource to explore the *Sunset* collection in your personal or local library, or to order through the document delivery service identified in the book.

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— Dr. Kevin Starr in his introduction to this volume



Actual size: 8 1/2" x 11", 304 pages

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7=	Nestlé	Switzerland
9=	Ford	US
9=	Intel	US
11	General Motors	Netherlands/UK
12	Royal Dutch/Shell	Germany
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14=	Hewlett-Packard	US
14=	Procter & Gamble	US
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17=	Alstom	US
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17=	Johnson & Johnson	US
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Extract from Financial Times Survey
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EUROPE

A Quiet End to Bundesbank's Leading Role

By Kevin O'Brien
and Hellmuth Tromm
Bloomberg News

FRANKFURT — The Bundesbank left interest rates unchanged at its last opportunity to move them on Thursday, ending an era of monetary leadership that promoted price stability in Europe and made the Deutsche mark a benchmark currency.

By leaving its discount rate at 2.50 percent and the Lombard rate at 4.50 percent, both historic lows, the bank took its last independent act before ceding rate-setting authority Jan. 1 to the 11-nation European Central Bank.

"It's certainly the end of an era," said Eckhardt Schulte, economist at Industrial Bank of Japan Ltd. "It's still the central bank of Europe's largest economy, and with all its track record, it'll remain very influential."

Ending its 1,000th meeting, the Bundesbank brought to a close 50 years of managing interest rates in Europe's largest economy, which by the late 1970s had turned the mark into one of the most stable currencies in the world. From Jan. 1, the European Central Bank will set borrowing

costs for the 11 nations, including Germany, and the Bundesbank will play only an advisory role. While only the Bundesbank president, Hans Tietmeyer, as a member of the ECB's 17-member board, will have a say in interest rates, the German central bank's council will continue to meet every two weeks with the gains scheduled for the weeks in between the biweekly ECB meetings.

On Thursday, the Bundesbank left its target money market rate, the securities repurchase rate, at 3 percent, which is expected to be the starting interest rate for the euro currency. Ten of the 11 euro nations lowered their rates in tandem to 3 percent on Dec. 3 to reach a unified rate for a region with 300 million people. Italy also lowered its main rate to 3.5 percent and is expected to cut again as early as Friday.

The organization that would become the Bundesbank was set up after World War II by Allied governments in 1948. The bank began its rise to prominence in 1975, when it based its monetary policy on limiting the size of the German money supply.

The introduction of the money supply policies planted "the seeds for the bank's later

success and eventual influence," said Gerhard Grebe, chief economist at Bank Julius Baer. "These policies boosted transparency and told everyone that if you wanted to know where German rates were going, all you had to do was watch the money supply."

By the mid-1980s, the German central bank's council had overtaken the Bank of England as the rate-setting body for most of Continental Europe. "Central banks in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Austria would then lead their lead from Germany, announcing parallel rate decisions minutes after the Bundesbank."

The Bundesbank ran up against the limits of its power when the former chancellor, Helmut Kohl, merged the East and West German economies in 1990 in spite of the Bundesbank's warnings that an overvalued exchange rate would ruin eastern industry and leave a legacy of high unemployment and debt.

"That had to be the Bundesbank's biggest defeat ever," Mr. Grebe said. "The exchange rate, which was a purely political decision, led to the collapse of Eastern German industry and fostered the high unemployment that persists today."

Overpriced Stocks Threaten Growth, OECD Says

Compiled by Our Staff News Dispatches

PARIS — Stock markets in leading industrialized countries are overvalued, and a 20 percent drop in prices could trim 0.7 percentage point off the countries' output over two years, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development said Thursday.

The United States is particularly vulnerable because of the strong stock-market rally since mid-October, the group said in its twice-yearly Economic Outlook report.

The report was based on stock market levels in early November, but

a further rise in stock markets since then makes the warning all the more relevant, organization officials said.

"Various benchmarks suggest we are a little uncomfortable about equity prices in America, and a little less concerned about elsewhere," said Michael Fenner, acting head of the organization's economic policy studies department. "Our analysis is that in the United States, and perhaps Canada, levels are hard to justify and they run the risk of a correction."

The report said that should stocks suffer a "sustained" drop of 20 percent, economic growth would

faller because of the negative impact on consumption alone.

The organization based its prediction using a simulation model, and the results advanced a warning in a preliminary version of its Economic Outlook published in November.

The preliminary report said the economic and markets crisis that spilled from Asia in August had led it to nearly halve, to 2 percent, its forecast for world economic growth for this year and next.

The report said stock markets in the leading economies had recouped

most or all of the losses — of 20 percent to 35 percent — incurred when economic collapse in Russia sparked a wave of global market instability. But it said there was a risk of another correction, saying the high stock prices reached in July had probably been excessive in any case. Nonetheless, the report said it was difficult to determine "appropriate" levels for equity prices.

"What is very important to the kind of assumptions we are making is that the calm in financial markets remains," Mr. Fenner said.

(AFP, Reuters)

Thomson To Combine 3 Subsidiaries

Bloomberg News

PARIS — Thomson-CSF, Europe's largest defense-electronics maker, said Thursday it would combine three defense units into a new company that will have annual sales of 8 billion francs (\$1.43 billion). Thomson-CSF Deterix, which is to be formed on Jan. 1, will unite Thomson-CSF Radars & Contre-Mesures, Thomson-CSF Missile Electronics and Dassault Electronique, which Thomson-CSF bought earlier this year.

The announcement comes three months after Thomson-CSF said it would reorganize its 40 divisions into eight larger "business units" in an attempt to increase profitability. The company has warned it could lose money in 1998 because of charges linked to a far-reaching restructuring after it acquired assets from three French defense and aerospace companies this year.

Deterix will make products such as radar systems and missile electronics. Jean-Robert Martin, a Thomson-CSF executive, will head the new entity, which will be wholly owned by Thomson-CSF and employ 7,200 people.

France now owns 40 percent of Thomson-CSF, which it controls through Thomson SA. The government itself has a so-called golden share to protect state interests. Alcatel SA and Dassault Industries own 21.6 percent of Thomson-CSF in return for having folded their military telecommunications and professional electronics businesses into the new entity.

■ Airbus on Summit Agenda

Airbus Industrie's plan to convert itself to a single company from a partnership will be on the agenda Friday at a meeting in Washington between President Bill Clinton and European Union leaders, an EU spokesman said Thursday. Bloomberg News reported from Toulouse.

A spokesman for the EU trade commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, said the U.S. trade representative, Charlene Barshefsky, sent a letter to the European Commission asking for assurance that Airbus would not be excused any loan repayments when it becomes a single company.

EU to Take Italy to Court

Bloomberg News

BRUSSELS — The European Commission said Thursday it would refer Italy to the European Court of Justice on its practice of retaining decision-making powers, or "golden shares," over companies it formerly owned. Similar procedures have been initiated against Portugal, Spain, France and Belgium.

Bic Plans to Shave Costs in Reorganization

Bloomberg News

PARIS — Bic SA said Thursday it would take a 210 million French franc (\$37.6 million) charge in the second half of the year, the world's No. 1 maker of pens and lighters reorganizes and cuts jobs to lower costs.

Bic, which also makes razors, surfboards and sailboards, said that excluding the charge, operating profit this year would be "similar to, or slightly higher than that of 1997." Last year, the company posted operating profit of 1.4 billion francs and net income of 800 million francs. Bic shares fell 11 francs to 300 francs.

Bic, which aims to cut 280 jobs in Europe in three years, or about 3 percent of its total work force, also said it expected to increase operating profit by 100 million francs in 2000.

Claudie Casimir, an analyst at ABN-Amro, said that the announcement "was not expected and can be equated to a profit warning."

Bic also said it planned to invest 360 million francs as part of a three-year plan to bolster sales and expand production. The company plans to consolidate pen production at a new plant to be built in France and be operational in 2000.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Thursday, Dec. 17
Dollars in local currencies.

Tel Aviv

Amsterdam

Athens

Bangkok

Bombay

Brussels

Buenos Aires

Copenhagen

Frankfurt

Helsinki

Hong Kong

Jakarta

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Kuala Lumpur

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Montreal

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Rangoon

Seoul

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Singapore

Stockholm

Sydney

Taipei

Tel Aviv

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Exchange Index Thursday Close Prev. Change

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Vienna ATX 1,088.87 1,084.17 -0.67

Zurich SPI 4,426.81 4,342.16 +1.94

Source: Reuters

International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

• Pathe SA, France's largest cinema operator, said Vincent Bolloré, the French investor, told it that he owned 18 percent of the company and would keep his stake below 20 percent.

• HSBC Holdings PLC plans to buy the 25 percent of Guyerzeller Bank AG it does not already own or control for 179.5 million Swiss francs (\$133.5 million) in cash to expand its Swiss private-banking business. The stake is owned by Holdingmaatschappij Matron BV.

• Kvaerner ASA plans to merge its pulp and paper activities with those of a privately held Finnish paper and engineering group, A. Ahlstrom Corp., to form a new company with sales of around \$1.2 billion.

• GIB Group SA, a major Belgian retailer, plans to reorganize its businesses by splitting them into separate units to bolster competitiveness.

• Spain's unemployment rate rose in September for the first time in 20 months, to 18.57 percent from 18.55 percent in August, as declines in the number of workers in industrial and service jobs outweighed a rise in construction jobs.

• Preussag AG has offered to buy First Reisebüro Management GmbH & Co., a German travel company, in its latest expansion in Europe's biggest travel market. Financial details were not disclosed. Preussag is also in talks with Westdeutsche Landesbank about a possible tie-up with the British travel company Thomas Cook.

• Britain's retail sales rose an unexpected 0.8 percent in November, helped by lower British interest rates. The rise took the annual rate of increase to 2.5 percent in November from 1.2 percent.

• German economic growth is set to slow in 1999 to an average 1.7 percent from 2.8 percent this year because of the global financial crisis, the Ifo economic-research institute predicted.

Bloomberg, Bridge News

WORLD ROUNDUP

Belgian Region Rejects Tobacco Ban

FORMULA ONE Wallonia's regional Parliament on Wednesday approved an exemption to allow tobacco advertising at the Belgian Grand Prix Formula One race, despite national legislation banning such ads starting Jan. 1.

"It is regrettable to take a decision like that when you don't get your way at a national level," said Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium. "Fortunately, it can be challenged by the court."

The national anti-tobacco law will bar tobacco sponsors from advertising at sports and cultural events, including the hugely successful Belgian Grand Prix. (AP)

Bob Appeals To Engquist

ATHLETICS Ludmila Engquist, the Olympic and world 100 meters hurdles champion, said Thursday she wants to compete at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City in the two-woman Swedish bobsleigh.

"This is not a joke because we have been in contact with the bobsleigh coaches," said her husband and coach Johan. (Reuters)

Rice and White Picked

FOOTBALL Reggie White, the Green Bay defensive tackle, gained a record 13th Pro Bowl selection Wednesday. Jerry Rice, the San Francisco wide receiver who missed most of last season because of injuries, was picked for the 12th time.

Denver and Minnesota, who lead their conferences, placed the most players on the team, nine each.

Among the notable absentees Feb. 7 in Honolulu is Brett Favre, the Green Bay quarterback and three-time league MVP, and Emmitt Smith, the Dallas running back.

Dan Reeves, the Atlanta Falcons coach, is in good condition following heart bypass surgery. A spokeswoman for Piedmont Hospital in Atlanta, said Wednesday it was likely that Reeves would go home Friday at the latest.

Reeves, 54, will miss the rest of the regular season, but expects to return for the playoffs. (AP)

Good Luck Drill

FOOTBALL Bill Parcells, the coach of the New York Jets, is so superstitious he is even prepared to make extra visits to the dentist if he thinks it will help his team win.

"I had three dentist's appointments earlier this year," Parcells told a U.S. sports magazine. "We won every Sunday after I had an appointment. So after my last appointment, I went back to the dentist even though I didn't need anything done."

"Had my teeth cleaned. We won again, so I went back again. But then the Colts beat us, so I don't have to go anymore." (LAT)

Brown's Deal Displays Dodgers' Incompetence

At 33, Pitcher's Best Years Are Behind Him

By Thomas Boswell
Washington Post Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Throughout baseball, tears are being shed and hands wrung over the bleak state of the game in the wake of Kevin Brown's \$105 million contract. "I'm in mourning for the game," said Larry Lucchino, the San Diego Padres' president, after losing Brown in a seven-year deal to the rival Los Angeles Dodgers. "Tell me how there is supposed to be competitive balance. At

VANTAGE POINT

some point, you cross a line" where only the largest-revenue clubs can compete. Save the agony, please. We should be laughing.

The Dodgers have just used Rupert Murdoch's checkbook to sign the dumbest \$100 million contract in pro sports history. By comparison, those National Basketball Association abominations, such as Kevin Garnett (\$126 million), Shaquille O'Neal (\$120 million), Alonzo Mourning (\$112 million) and Shawn Kemp (\$107 million) are models of logic. The Dodgers are the new standard for historic incompetence.

Every shred of baseball history says that the Dodger brain trust, if that's not an oxymoron, has just swapped a year or two of being a borderline contender, thanks to Brown, for about five seasons of being dragged down by a \$15 million-a-season obligation to a pitcher who'll be lucky to win 10 games.

Yes, baseball has become dramatically and annoyingly imbalanced. But the Brown signing isn't an illustration of it. Instead, it's an example of how the obnoxiously greedy can screw up on a grand scale despite their wealth. By agreeing to an insane deal, the Dodgers have taken tens of millions of dollars of their "unfair" advantage and, in effect, built a cash bonfire at the pitcher's mound and burned their dough in public view. The very money that should have been buying them pennants in the early 2000s is going up in smoke.

As Ted Turner and George Steinbrenner learned long ago when they first arrived in baseball — with big wallets and no baseball judgment — giving market-busting, long-term contracts to old pitchers is a guaranteed disaster. Not for baseball, but for the nouveau riche clubs who don't have a clue. Kevin Malone, the Dodgers' general manager, and Davey Johnson, the Dodgers' manager, must be rolling their eyes. They know what the top Dodger brass has done. But why tell 'em?

Kevin Brown will be 34 in March. For their \$105 million, what are the Dodgers likely to get? Have they bought the future? Or mortgaged it?

Let's examine the career of top pitchers since World War I who, at the age of 33, had a season comparable to Brown's 18-7 year with the Padres. What did they do over the next seven seasons? Would their performances in today's market be worth \$105 million?

At 33, Grover Cleveland Alexander, Bert Blyleven, Jim Bunning, Lew Burdette, Steve Carlton, Mike Cuellar, Paul

Derringer, Bob Feller, Whitey Ford, Bob Gibson, Lefty Gomez, Lefty Grove, Ron Guidry, Carl Hubbell, Tommy John, Walter Johnson, Jerry Koosman, Bob Lemon, Juan Marichal, Christy Mathewson, Jim Palmer, Gaylord Perry, Allie Reynolds, Red Ruffing, Nolan Ryan, Tom Seaver, Warren Spahn, Doo Surtan, Luis Tiant and Early Wynn all had years comparable to Brown's. Their average mark at 33 was 20-10 (603 wins, 303 losses).

That's the whole list of comparables: 30 of them. The cream of the cream. These guys are, as a group, much better than Kevin Brown, who's won 20 games only once and, at 139-99, is not a Hall of Famer by a long shot.

What did Lefty Carlton and Whitey, Big Train Johnson and Big Six Mathewson, King Carl Hubbell and Tom (Terrific) Seaver do after the age of 33? They went 2,365-1,786. Or 80-60 per man; an annual record of 11-9 — barely an average big-league starter.

Out of all 30 of these greats, only one would clearly have been worth the \$105 million the Dodgers just gave Brown — Warren Spahn, who won 20 games in six of his next seven years. You might also have gotten your money's worth out of Wynn (125-86), Carlton (123-79), Perry (121-92) and Alexander (113-74).

But that's it. Out of this list of the greatest pitchers who hadn't blown out their arms by 33, only five won as many as 105 games in the next seven seasons. In Dodger terms, that means \$1 million per win. Conversely, look at the disasters among stars who blew up at the same age as Brown. By their 35th birthdays, Bunning, Burdette, Derringer, Feller, Gomez, Hubbell, Marichal, Mathewson and Palmer were on their last legs.

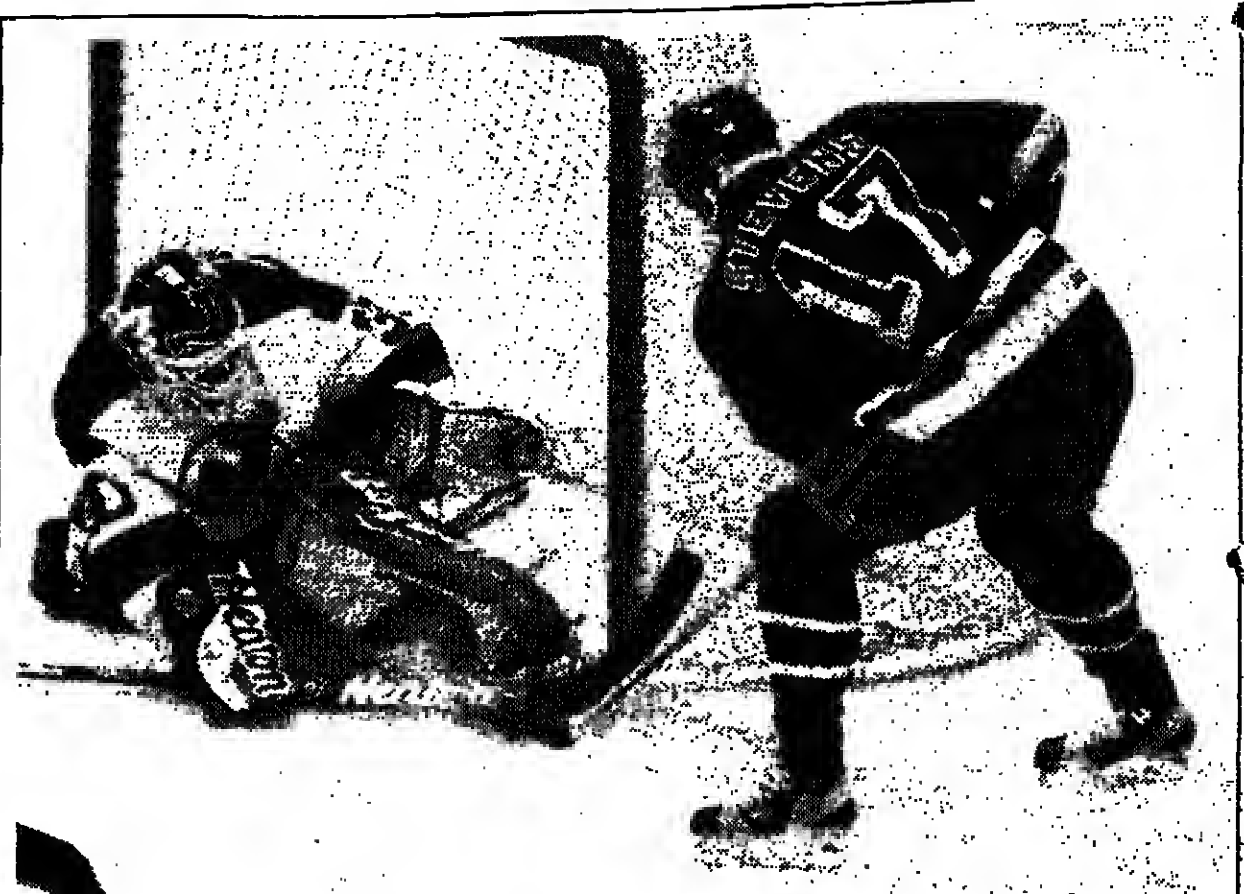
In baseball, even young pitchers are ridiculously fragile. Old ones might as well be held together with string. If you like dark humor, look up the records of the recent standout pitchers Orel Hershisser, Frank Viola, Mark Langston and Rick Sutcliffe. They were all Kevin Brown. Stop at a top season around age 30 when they were The Man. Then see what happened to the rest of their careers. They all became Mr. 11-9.

Over the past 20 years, baseball has seen a succession of teams that have — for one season or even a few in a row — been willing to blow out the game's salary structure so they could try to win Now. However, when those teams have fallen on their faces with extravagant rock-headed free agent signings, they have had the decency — or perhaps the sense of shame — to stop spending at some point.

The real issue is not that the Dodgers have spent \$105 million for a pitcher, the rest of whose career will, at best, probably look like Carl Hubbell's over the same age span: 22-8, 13-10, 11-9, 11-12, 11-9, 11-8, 4-4.

The question that has hung over baseball for 20 years has always been the same. What happens if the game ever gets an owner who is unethically shameless, totally amoral and absurdly rich?

In a year or two, if the Brown signing works out as badly as it should, then we may find out if Rupert Murdoch is that owner.



The Rangers' Kevin Stevens, right, battling the Devils' Martin Brodeur. Stevens scored on the play.

Devils Stay Hot by Drubbing Rangers

The Associated Press

The New Jersey Devils set a franchise record, scoring at least five goals for the fifth consecutive game with their 6-3 victory over the New York Rangers.

"It makes the game fun," said Ken Daneyko, a New Jersey defenseman.

NHL ROUNDOUP

after the Devils stretched their unbeaten streak to eight Wednesday night.

The Devils, known for their defense in recent years, are enjoying a scoring surge under the team's new coach, Robbie Ftorek. New Jersey is third in the National Hockey League with 87 goals and leads the league with 18 victories.

Under Jacques Lemaire, the previous coach "if you made a mistake, you ended up sitting on the bench," Daneyko said. Jason Arnott and Jay

Pandolfo scored two goals apiece, and Martin Brodeur stopped 23 shots as the Devils beat the visiting Rangers for the third time this season.

Maple Leafs 5, Coyotes 2 Toronto handed visiting Phoenix just its fourth loss of the season as Igor Korolev scored twice during a four-goal outburst in the second period. Mats Sundin, Darby Hendrickson and Fredrik Modin also scored for the Leafs.

Toronto became the first team this season to score five goals against Phoenix, which has the NHL's top defense.

Panthers 4, Penguins 1 Ray Whitney and Bill Lindsay scored 47 seconds apart in the third period to help Florida beat visiting Pittsburgh.

Scott Mellanby had a goal and two assists, including his 300th career assist, and Rob Niedermayer added two assists for Florida.

Red Wings 5, Bruins 3 Nick Lidstrom and Larry Murphy each scored a goal as Detroit beat Boston for its sixth straight victory at home.

Murphy (23 points) and Lidstrom (19) are two of the top scoring defensemen in the league.

Mighty Ducks 6, Predators 1 Teemu Selanne and Travis Green each had two goals and an assist as Anaheim beat visiting Nashville.

Guy Hebert, the Mighty Ducks' goalie, lost his bid for a third consecutive shutout with 4:06 remaining. He had stopped 113 straight shots over a span of 191 minutes and 37 seconds before Nashville's Denny Lambert knocked in a rebound on the Predators' 36th shot of the game.

Hebert finished with 38 saves for the Mighty Ducks, who tied a club record with four power-play goals.

Rivals May Ask Salt Lake City to Pay

By Christopher Clarey
International Herald Tribune

SEVILLE, Spain—The official who headed the Swedish bid that lost the vote for the 2002 Winter Olympics said Thursday that Salt Lake City organizers should reimburse the expenses of rival cities if it were confirmed that their bidding committee bribed members of the International Olympic Committee.

"In some ways, we spent our money in vain," said Christer Persson, the president of the bidding committee from the city of Ostersund.

Persson said stripping the Olympics from Salt Lake City was impractical. The IOC already had ruled it out. But he said a fine that would compensate the three other 2002 finalists — Sion, Switzerland; Quebec City and Ostersund — would be an appropriate punishment for the scholarship fund that benefited at least six relatives of IOC members.

"If Salt Lake is to be sanctioned in any way by the IOC, I would suggest them paying the bid funds back," he said. Persson said Ostersund spent about \$2 million in its bid. He said Sion spent about \$3.5 million and Quebec City \$8 million.

Persson said he was surprised to learn that his once-friendly rivals had resorted to the scholarship fund.

"It's something like I thought I was racing against Carl Lewis and now I figured out it was Ben Johnson," Persson said. "That was a surprise to everybody, but I'm quite sure Ostersund would never have won in any case because Salt Lake was the best candidate for the Winter Olympics to history. They deserved to win. It's sad there is this component in their victory now."

Persson spent 12 years bidding against Salt Lake City as part of the Ostersund bids that failed to win the 1994, 1998 and 2002 Games.

"I think they were afraid not to use this possibility," Persson said of the scholarship fund. "And I think they felt that if they didn't use it, someone else would."

While the chief of Quebec City's bid, Rene Paquet, has said he was approached by an agent offering IOC votes for a price, Persson said he never heard of such offers until Marc Hodler, an IOC member, publicly railed against "blackmailing" agents Saturday. "In

Paris Unveils Bid for 2008 Summer Olympics

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — Paris joined the bidding for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games on Thursday. Jean Tiberi, mayor of the French capital, made the official announcement after the news was leaked at the Asian Games in Bangkok. "We have the ambition and the means," Tiberi said. "Paris, even if it bothers me to talk like this about this city, in terms of marketing is a very good product."

Tiberi named Philippe Bourguignon, owner of the Club Med terrace tourism organization and a sports enthusiast, as president of the bidding committee.

The Seattle Olympic Bid Committee, formed to seek the 2012 Summer Games, withdrew its candidacy and disbanded Thursday for lack of civic support. The city council on Monday reiterated that it would not support a bid. (AP, Reuters)

12 years. I never got any requests or saw any indications that anybody was asking for money to deliver votes," he said.

Persson said he had heard rumors of rule-breaking, but the only evidence he saw was gifts from bidding cities to IOC members that exceeded the \$150 limit per member. "But these things are just souvenirs, and you never get the vote for the souvenirs you give," he said.

Persson, whose city is not bidding for the 2006 Games, said he would support Hodler's call to have the IOC executive board, instead of the entire IOC membership, vote for host cities.

"The international football federation and athletics federation already do that," he said. "It costs a lot of money and time to meet 114 IOC members. But I'm not sure the IOC will vote for the idea because it's nice for them to travel around the world, and they are not paid in any way to do their job. But if they keep increasing the number of members, one day the number will be too big to keep the current system. It was 95 when we bid and now it's 114."

Gunilla Lindberg, a Swedish IOC member, said it was possible to confuse a genuine service offered by agents with corruption.

"I don't understand when Marc Hodler talks about agents," Lindberg said. "You have a lot of international consultants, and an international consultant for me is a person who advises you and knows the members and what they like and don't like and how Asians and Africans react. These consultants have been working for many years."

"It's up to the city to buy their services or not, but from that to the other

thing that Mr. Hodler is talking about is a long way. I hope he knows the difference. That's why I'm waiting for the names of the agents and the proof of selling votes."

The Associated Press reported from London that Goran Takac, an agent who fears he may be thought to meet Hodler's description, on Thursday denied any wrongdoing.

Hodler alleged that four "agents" had been demanding payment to secure votes for cities bidding for the Olympics. Hodler said the "most de-tested agent" lived in Lausanne.

Takac, a marketing agent, is based in Lausanne and has worked on Olympic bids for more than 20 years. His father, Arthur, is an IOC adviser.

"In the last two days, my name has been mentioned a lot," Goran Takac said. "We feel we have to react. We have to clean our name. We are completely ready to cooperate, to open all our files, to show exactly what we were doing."

Query Over Tax Forms

Tax forms filed by Salt Lake's Olympic organizers do not include entries for the scholarship program. The Associated Press reported from Salt Lake City.

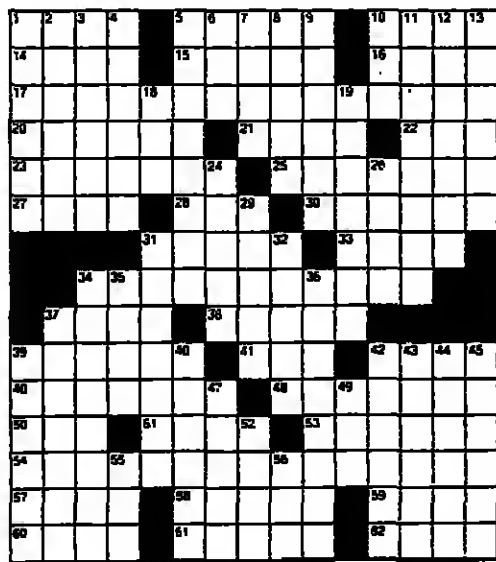
Salt Lake Organizing Committee officials have said \$400,000 in scholarships was paid to 13 students, including six relatives of IOC members.

The documents were obtained by a local radio station. In each fiscal year between 1991 to 1997, the question "Does the organization make grants for scholarships, fellowships, student loans, etc.," is answered "No."

CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 What to do
- 5 Singer Joplin
- 10 Plant for burp
- 14 One of the Ringling brothers
- 15 Loose ground
- 16 Something to think about
- 17 "Oliver Twist" character
- 20 Test site for an aquanaut
- 21 Detected
- 22 Command for O.O.E.
- 23 Like a wuss
- 25 Was terrified by
- 27 Is worthwhile
- 28 Broadcast init.
- 29 Mouth-watering
- 31 Prison guard, in slang
- 33 Saturn or Mars
- 34 Feature of 17- and 54-Across, literally
- 37 Hunk
- 38 Mattress maker
- 39 Train to box?
- 41 Criticism, abbr.
- 42 New York Shakespeare Festival founder
- 43 Journey of self-discovery?
- 46 U.N. intervention site
- 50 What's more
- 51 "A Girl Like I" specification
- 52 Where you pay to play
- 53 Phrase of sympathy
- 57 "I saw Elba"
- 58 Made level
- 59 Size up
- 60 Carpenter's groove
- 61 Taxes leaguer?
- 62 River to the North Sea
- 18 Ruled
- 19 Vitamin
- 24 Costly W.W.I. battleground
- 26 Allego
- 28 Elaine
- 29 "Seinfeld" role
- 31 In the manner of a judge
- 32 "new?"
- 34 Cherry-colored
- 35 Deliver a trade
- 36 Get-rich-quick place
- 37 Madame in Roma
- 38 Took for the summer, maybe
- 40 He played Sinatra in "The Rat Pack"
- 42 Cream puff, maybe
- 43 Warm welcomes
- 44 Gilbert and Sullivan extra
- 45 Spiel
- 47 Standard's partner
- 48 Place for an lie
- 52 Barred
- 55 Omnicore e.g.
- 56 Always



SPORTS

Italian Soccer Body To Be Investigated

Compiled by Our Staff From Rome
ROME — Luciano Nizzola, the president of the Italian soccer federation, was notified Thursday that he is under investigation in the probe into possible drug abuse in Italian soccer.

Rome prosecutors are looking into whether Nizzola hid positive drug tests to help clubs or players.

"It is very possible that some error might have been committed by a functionary," Nizzola told reporters. "The federation certainly does not have any interest in making mistakes or protecting anybody. If there was an error, it was certainly in good faith."

Sampdoria's coach, named David Platt as coach Thursday, making the former England captain the youngest bench boss in Serie A. Platt, 32, inherits a club

near the bottom of the league. Technically, Platt will not have the title of "coach" because he does not have the necessary permit from the Italian federation. Giorgio Veneri, a veteran of Italy's lower divisions, will be Platt's assistant.

ENGLAND NTL, a U.S. cable company, said Thursday it had taken a 6.3 percent stake in Newcastle United and could take over the Premier League club. NTL said Cameron Hall Developments, which owns 30.8 percent of the club, had accepted an offer for its stake valuing the club at \$160 million (\$269 million).

Barclay Knapp, NTL's chief executive, said the bid would go through if competition authorities cleared a \$1 billion by Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB for Manchester United.

(AP, AFP, Reuters)



Poonsak Rukwongrit, of Thailand, left, trying to kick the ball past Zabit Sharif, of Malaysia in the sepak takraw final. The Thais won, 15-3, 15-8. The Southeast Asian sport resembles volleyball, but competitors may not use their hands.

China Passes 100 Golds

But It Says Someone Tried to Bribe Its Athletes

The Associated Press
BANGKOK — As China passed the 100 gold medal mark at the Asian Games on Thursday, one of its team leaders said Chinese athletes had been offered bribes to lose in gold medal matches.

Li Fulong, deputy head of China's Asian Games delegation, gave no names or other details, but said there had been more than one

case. Ahmad Sabah, the president of the Olympic Council of Asia, said that if the Chinese do provide names, the OCA will order an investigation. Another Chinese official said a table tennis player was approached, but was unable to identify the Chinese-speaking person who made the offer.

Meanwhile, China kept collecting gold, winning six Thursday — two each in track and badminton, one in wushu and one for a 1-0 triumph in women's soccer, on Fan Yunjie's golden goal in the second half of extra time against North Korea. China has 102 golds.

South Korea won eight golds to take its total to 59. Japan won five and has 48.

That boxers won the first three of the first six boxing golds. Another six will be decided Friday, with two more Thais on the card.

The Thais won a silver and a gold in tennis. Yuyuk Basuki of Indonesia beat the top seed, Tamarine Tanasugarn, of Thailand, 6-4, 6-2, in the women's singles final. Brothers Paradorn and Narathorn Srirachan beat South Korea's Lee Hyung Taik and Yoon Yong Il, 6-3, 7-6 (7-5), for the men's doubles gold.

On the track, Japanese sprinter Koji Ito moved toward adding the men's 200 meters to his previous golds in the 100 and the sprint relay. Li Xuemei of China did likewise, qualifying for the women's final. Ito was fastest in the men's semifinal, in 20.41 seconds. Li was second in her semifinal behind Damayanti Darsha, Sri Lanka's 400-meter gold medalist.

Lee Jin Il edged South Korean compatriot Kim Soon Hyung by .05 second for the men's gold at 800 meters, completing a comeback from a drugs ban imposed after he had won the race at the 1994 games. Lee maintains he took the anabolic agent in cough medicine.

India's Jyotirmoy Sikkhar added the women's 800 meters title to her gold at 1,500 meters, finishing well ahead of teammate Rosa Kutty.

SCOREBOARD

ASIAN GAMES

THURSDAY IN BANGKOK, THAILAND

WOMEN'S TEAM

Gold — South Korea def. China 242-220.
Bronze — China.

WOMEN'S INDIVIDUALS

Gold — Yurika Yamazaki, Japan, def. Gong Li, China, 1-11, 11-5, 11-3.
Bronze — Lee Joo-Hyun, South Korea, and Son Seok-Ho, South Korea.

WOMEN'S DOUBLES

Gold — China (Guo Fei and Guo Jun) def. Indonesia (Elysa Mahandari and Deyana Lumban), 15-12, 15-9, 15-11.
Bronze — China (Guo Fei and Guo Jun) and South Korea (Lee Kyung-min and Chong In-hee).

WOMEN'S SINGLES

Gold — Dong Jiong, China, def. Hendrawan, Indonesia, 17-14, 10-7, 15-8.
Bronze — Sun Jie, China, and Yang Hock, Malaysia.

WOMEN'S DOUBLES

Gold — Indonesia (Ricky Achmad Supriatno and Dany Ramadani) def. Thailand (Prasanna Teerawattanasak and Siripong Siripong), 15-12, 15-10.
Bronze — China (Liu Yang and Yu Jihua) and South Korea (Lee Dong-soo and Yoo Yong-soo).

WOMEN'S SINGLES

Gold — South Korea (Lee Dong-soo) and Li Kyung-min def. South Korea (Lee Dong-soo) and Yoo Yong-soo, 15-8, 15-6.
Bronze — China (Liu Yang and Yu Jihua) and Indonesia (Trikus Haryanto and Almar Tjandjaja).

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Bronze — China (Liu Yang and Yu Jihua) and Indonesia (Trikus Haryanto and Almar Tjandjaja).

SEPAK TAKRAW

WOMEN'S INDIVIDUALS

Gold — Myanmar def. Vietnam, 5-15, 15-6, 5-3.
Bronze — China and Thailand.

WOMEN'S DOUBLES

Gold — Thailand def. Malaysia, 15-3, 15-8.
Bronze — Brunei and Myanmar.

WOMEN'S SINGLES

Gold — China 1, North Korea 0.
Bronze — Japan.

WOMEN'S DOUBLES

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Bronze — Japan.

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POSTCARD

Staying Together

By Kathryn Shattuck
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis were admiring an enormous poinsettia, its vibrant red leaves shooting out into all four corners of an otherwise coolly subdued living room.

The plant — "the largest, most beautiful, most expensive we could find," Dee said — was a gift from the couple to each other on Dec. 9, the day of their 50th wedding anniversary. It will be the only gift they exchange this year, a symbol for the only gift they need at this juncture of their lives: each other.

That's not to say the event has gone unheralded. In November the couple published a memoir, "With Ossie and Ruby: In This Life Together," an assessment of their experiences together and apart. Tuesday night they celebrated with a benefit at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Manhattan to raise money for 12 regional theaters like the ones in which they got their start. "We're giving back," said Dee, who is 74.

And Wednesday night they joined the drummer Max Roach in "Theater Pieces," an evening of poetry, prose and music that is part of "Max Roach's America," a three-concert series at the 92d Street Y.

The son of a self-educated railroad construction engineer, Davis was raised in rural Georgia, eventually leaving the countryside to live with his grandmother in Waycross, a larger town, so that he could receive a better education. After graduating from Howard University in Washington, he traveled to New York, where he began his acting ca-

reer with the Rose McClendon Players in the basement of the 124th Street Library in Harlem while taking drama classes at Columbia.

The daughter of a waiter on the Pennsylvania Railroad, Dee graduated from Hunter College and went to work with the American Negro Theater, in the basement of the 135th Street Library, now known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Though they insist their paths surely must have crossed in the years they traversed the neighborhood, the couple met in 1945 when they were both cast in the Broadway production of "Jeb" at the Martin Beck Theater; he as the male lead, she as the understudy to the female lead, a role she eventually took on. They recall having felt as if they had always known each other. They married three years later.

By all accounts, the marriage has been a good one, producing three children, seven grandchildren, two successful careers and an unflinching activism for causes social and civil. Agreeing to disagree, they say, was often the key to surviving. They are frank in their discussion of marriage, even on the topic of infidelity, which has crept into their safe haven.

The marriage, their memoirs, their oral history, all are a part of a broader picture that Dee and Davis believe will serve future generations.

"Just staying together is not a real virtue, if you're not happy," she said. "Or you're being denied. Or one person is being squashed. Or you really don't love each other; you're just there out of habit. That doesn't work, no matter how many years you stay together."

A 'Peony Pavilion' for the Post-Modern Set

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

PARIS — The Autumn Festival in Paris had the clever idea of offering two contrasting productions of "The Peony Pavilion" to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Tang Xianzu's classic Chinese opera.

But the Shanghai Kunqu Opera Company's complete 20-hour version, originally scheduled to open this summer's Lincoln Center Festival in New York, was again banned from leaving China as too "feudal" and "pornographic." So Peter Sellars's three-hour avant-garde version has had the stage to itself here.

It has left those unfamiliar with kunqu opera (let's face it, most Westerners) with the task of evaluating the experimental without the standard of the traditional.

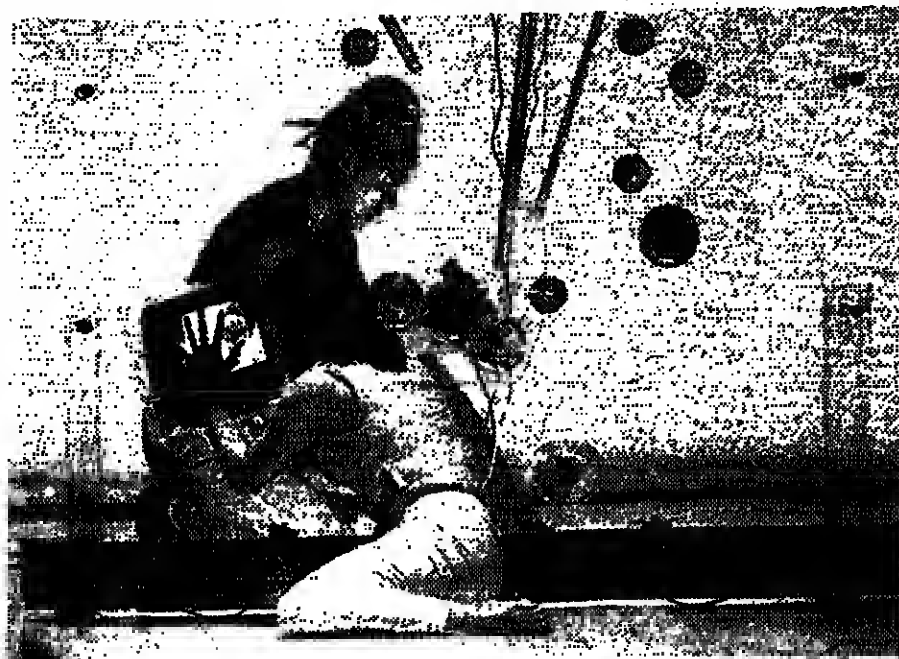
As it is, audiences at the Bobigny cultural center near Paris are inevitably left guessing how much of Sellars's "Peony Pavilion" is original kunqu and how much has been added to reach out to Westerners. For all that, it still looks and sounds pretty Chinese, though not exactly 400 years old.

Indeed, in a sense, Sellars has brought Tang Xianzu's 55-act masterpiece closer to the China of today. Chinese opera never recovered from the censorship and dismantling of theater companies that accompanied Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution, and its survival is now threatened by the growing popularity of Western music, movies and television.

So it is conceivable that Sellars's Westernized homage to traditional Chinese culture would appeal more to many young Chinese than the original. This theory may even be tested if, as the 41-year-old American director hopes, the production travels to China in 2000.

The essence of the story, a sort of "Romeo and Juliet" in reverse, remains intact in this version.

Du Liniang, a 16-year-old girl from a powerful family, dreams of a young scholar who makes love to her. When she awakens, she is so saddened not to find him that she starves herself to death, leaving a self-portrait on her tomb. Three years later, the scholar, Liu Mengmei, falls for the painted image just as Du's ghost appears. They become lovers and, although Du reveals that she is dead, Liu succeeds in bringing her back to life.



Lauren Tom, foreground, and Joel de la Fuente in "The Peony Pavilion."

Sellars's point of departure could not have been more authentic.

In 1990, while directing the Los Angeles Festival, he met Hua Wenyi, a veteran Chinese actress trained in the tradition of kunqu (pronounced kun-SHOO) and practiced in playing the role of Du, who had just moved to California. "Here was this living national treasure whose art form no one in the West knew how to read," he said. "So the big question for me was, how could we in the West begin to realize what she does?"

As it happens, Hua, a former artistic director of the Shanghai Kunqu Opera Company who is now in her 50s, was also interested in trying something new. "She became the driving force," the director recalled. "She didn't want to go back to tradition. She wanted tradition to take its next steps into the future."

The project took almost a decade to come to fruition as Sellars organized seminars and workshops to help him come to grips with the kunqu tradition. For the text, he chose a translation by Cyril Birch, 73, an English-born Chinese scholar who moved to the University of California at Berkeley in 1960.

For the music, he turned to Tan Dun, 41, an avant-garde composer who was born in China and now lives in New York. Asked to provide incidental music, Tan delivered a two-hour opera, the first half comprising kunqu melodies, the second half a rousing blend of kunqu, Tibetan and Western chants, instruments and rhythms.

"With the addition of a different generation of Chinese artist, we began to get a rather rich picture," Sellars said. "What's quite interesting is that Hua Wenyi and Tan Dun would never have met in China because Hua Wenyi was at the highest level of official culture and Tan Dun was a young artist whose work was officially discouraged."

George Tsypin, who has designed many of Sellars's operatic productions, most recently Messiaen's "St. Francois d'Assise," placed this version well in the 20th century by creating a large, transparent rectangular box that serves as both bed and watery grave for Du as well as transparent screens with television monitors trapped inside them. These and other monitors carry images captured by camcorders held by Du and Liu.

But perhaps the greatest innovation in the production, which has already been

seen in Vienna, London and Rome and will travel to Berkeley in March, is that Du and Liu are each represented simultaneously first by two, then by three performers. In China, where the kunqu tradition embraces acting, dancing and singing, this would not be necessary. Yet here, *force majeure* — Hua could not play a 16-year-old girl, nor does she speak English — created a fascinating counterpoint of cultures and generations.

Two young Asian-Americans — Lauren Tom, of Chinese descent, and Joel de la Fuente, of Filipino extraction — play the English-speaking roles of Du and Liu. (At times the mixture of colloquial and poetic language jars.) Hua dances and sings the role of Du in the kunqu fashion, but in Paris she has been joined by Michael Schimacher, an American who dances the role of Liu in the experimental disjointed style of William Forsythe's Frankfurt Ballet. Their silent dance of love is perhaps the emotional high point of the first act.

"It was marvelous," Sellars said excitedly of this addition to the evolving production, which runs in Paris through Dec. 22. "Hua Wenyi really wanted to meet a kind of cutting-edge dance world where her sense of refinement of movement could meet a language that is equally articulated and refined."

In the second act, the two couples are joined by a fresh Du and Liu, in this case a soprano (Nancy Allen-Lundy) and Ying Huang alternate as Du) and a tenor (Michael Hart-Davis and Lin Qiang Xu alternate as Liu) whose passionate arias mirror the narrative as the two lovers finally meet. If their operatic voices sound more Western, though, kunqu is still present in the singing of the priestess Sister Sione, played by Shi Jiehua.

Sellars sees topicality in the play's treatment of teenage suicide and its endorsement of idealistic dreams, yet on-stage what speaks loudest, in the director's words, is the "genuine cultural discussion."

"You have Lauren Tom, who was born in Chicago and does not speak a word of Chinese, trying to make contact with Hua Wenyi, the most famous living Chinese actress, who now lives in Los Angeles and doesn't speak English," he said. "For Lauren Tom, it means recovering part of her heritage that she never knew, and for Hua Wenyi, it means moving forward into her new life as an American."

PEOPLE

THE New York Film Critics Circle on Thursday chose Steven Spielberg's World War II movie, "Saving Private Ryan," as best film of 1998. "The Thin Red Line," the year's other World War II film, was another winner, for both John Toll's cinematography and for direction by Terrence Malick. Nick Nolte won the circle's best actor award for his performance in "Affliction," and Cameron Diaz was voted best actress for "There's Something About Mary." As best foreign film, group members chose the Danish film "The Celebration." "Shakespeare in Love" and "The Truman Show" each got six Golden Globe nominations from the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, and "Saving Private Ryan" got five. "Bulworth," "Elizabeth," "Gods and Monsters" and "Little Voice" got three nominations each.

A French appeals court ruled Thursday that Yves Montand was not the father of Auroré Drossart, who claims to be his daughter. The court relied on a

DNA test that was carried out on the singer's corpse. The singer and actor had always denied that Drossart, 24, was his daughter and refused to undergo DNA tests.

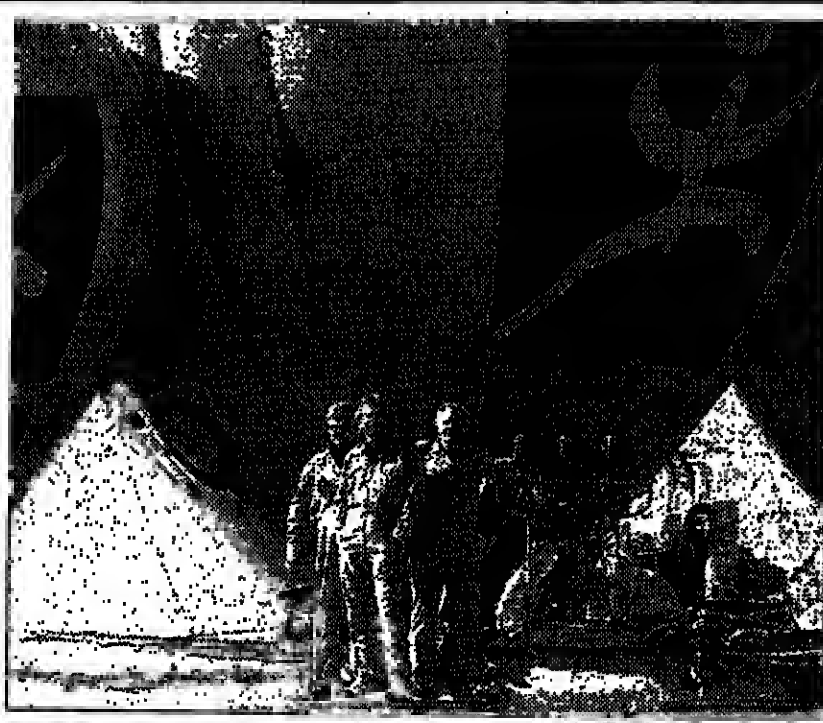
The British businessman Richard Branson, the Swede Per Lindstrand and the American Steve Fossett are in

Marrakesh, Morocco, to set off on a new attempt to circle the globe by balloon. The three men hope to leave Friday and circle the globe in less than 18 days before landing in Britain.

A screenwriter says in a lawsuit against Walt Disney Co. that he was promised a cut of merchandising from

the three "Mighty Ducks" movies and hasn't received a cent. Steven Brill, who wrote the movies starring Emilio Estevez as the reluctant coach for an underdog youth hockey team, said his contract entitled him to 5 percent of gross merchandising revenues. The lawsuit filed in Los Angeles seeks \$25 million for revenue earned since 1993, plus any future merchandising earnings. Brill's lawyer said.

What are the top holiday season songs in the United States? According to Marilyn Bergman, president and chairman of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, the most performed song is "White Christmas," by Irving Berlin. Next, in order, are "Santa Claus Is Comin' to Town," by J. Fred Coots and Haven Gillespie; "The Christmas Song (Chestnuts Roasting on an Open Fire)," by Mel Tormé and Robert Wells; "Winter Wonderland," by Felix Bernard and Richard Smith, and "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer," by Johnny Marks.



Lindstrand, left, Branson and Fossett in front of their balloon.



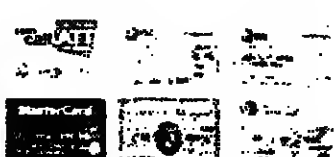
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